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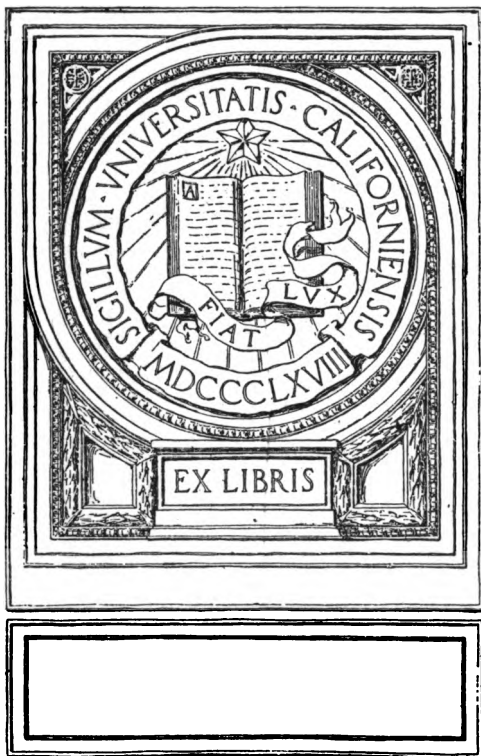
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GIFT OF
E. P. Lowe



AMERICAN PRINCIPLES

By

E. P. LOWE, M. D.

*A series of brief, non-partisan suggestions on Public Questions,
designed especially for our Young and our
New Citizens*

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Dedication

**To our Republic, whose kindly genius has
ever led in the ways of justice, peace and
liberty, this volume is gratefully dedicated**

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PREFACE

THE writer of this volume makes no pretensions to presenting new thought or data on the subjects treated, nor does he expect to do more than to present the fundamental principles involved therein. The predetermined size of this volume, which was to make it a manual of American principles, precludes the possibility of any attempt to exhaust any subject touched upon, even had the writer the inclination to do so; but it is hoped thereby to arouse a more earnest reflection on the part of the reader, to the end that he may more faithfully serve the interests of the great democracy to which he belongs.

There never was a time in our nation's history when the loyal citizen was called upon to accord a more candid consideration to the great and perplexing public problems confronting him than the present. On every side great and overwhelming questions of State obtrude themselves upon his attention, and demand the sanest and most prompt solution. The nation needs the willing service of every citizen, high and low, great and small, of whatever national or racial descent, to assist it in meeting the demands of the crisis now before it.

It is in the hope of aiding in some small measure in this great work that this little volume has been written. The author, therefore, appeals to the reader on behalf of a careful perusal of the following pages, in order that, while eliminating any error he may detect, he may use his best efforts to secure the application of the true principles in the nation's daily life. Our country needs a renewal of its baptism in the sacred principles of our Constitution. It must reconsecrate itself to the precepts of the Fathers. It is thus obligatory upon every worthy citizen to perform the part of a true American. There is no place today in our country for indifference or disloyalty.

Though some of the suggestions herein submitted may be considered by some as Utopian and impracticable, the author consoles himself with the reflection that every logical conception of man will eventually find a practical expression in his daily life, and yield its fruits in the times to come.

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INTRODUCTION

IN offering this volume for public consideration, I have only one purpose to accomplish, to invite the earnest reflection of the American upon the priceless value of those great principles of our system of government which constitute not only the foundation but the very life of our Republic. These constitutional principles are not ours alone, but are the roots of all orderly government, and should be preserved as the only safe substructures of human progress.

The true advocate of popular government will always endeavor to defend these principles, as they are applied in our government, against every inimical influence that may assail them; but in doing so will practice that measure of charity he deems due to human frailty. He will therefore attack the corrupt system rather than the individual, except when the individual allows himself to become the working exponent of the vicious system. Individual conduct may be distorted through the failure of individual judgment, hence, when individual judgment collapses, a certain charity should be extended. But when the system, composed as it is of many individual judgments, fails to measure up to recognized ethical standards, it will not merit the same condoning disposition. In the system error is inexcusable, since it should be detected by individual vigilance. For this reason, it is impossible for any system to fall into error regarding its proper ethical course. And when the system knowingly disregards such standard, it merits the severest censure. It is only by determined assaults upon such unethical practices that the fundamental principles of the Constitution may be perpetuated, and popular liberty be preserved.

In every effort to protect these vital principles, by whomsoever made, the people, who are most deeply concerned in the results, should lend every aid and encouragement, rather than turn with studied indifference from those who would defend their inalienable rights. For who can withstand the indifference of those he would defend? And who should be more profoundly interested in all the processes of free government

than the people, the creators of that government? The justly celebrated Justice Story, on an occasion when discussing the principles of the Constitution, in answer to the query as to the duration of our Republic, replied: "It must perish, if there be not that vital spirit in the people, which alone can nourish, sustain, and direct all its movements. It is in vain that statesmen shall form plans of government, in which the beauty and harmony of a republic shall be embodied in visible order, shall be built up on solid substructions, and adorned by every useful ornament, if the inhabitants suffer the silent power of time to dilapidate its walls, or crumble its massy supporters into dust; if the assaults from without are never resisted, and the rottenness and mining within are never guarded against. Who can preserve the rights and liberties of the people, when they shall be abandoned by themselves? Who shall keep watch in the temple when the watchmen sleep at their posts? Who shall call upon the people to redeem their possessions, and revive the republic, when their own hands have deliberately and corruptly surrendered them to the oppressor, and have built the prisons or dug the graves of their own friends? America, free, happy, and enlightened as she is, must rest the preservation of her rights and liberties upon the virtue, independence, justice, and sagacity of her people. If either fails, the republic is gone. Its shadow may remain with all the pomp, and circumstance, and trickery of government, but its vital power will have departed. In America the demagogue may arise as well as elsewhere. He is the natural, though spurious, growth of republics, and, like the courtier, he may, by his blandishments, delude the ears and blind the eyes of the people to their own destruction. If ever the day shall arrive in which the best talents and best virtues be driven from office by intrigue or corruption, by the ostracism of the press, or the still more unrelenting persecution of party, legislation will cease to be national. It will be wise by accident, and bad by system."

So long as we retain the spirit of freemen, we shall not surrender but defend these principles with every power at our command, and strive with equal energy and by every just means to apply them to the needs of our people. We may differ as

regards the best method of their application in the common weal, but not as to their unvarying potency and sanctity. These responsibilities, so masterfully set forth by Justice Story, we may not evade without the loss of our cherished liberties, or even of the Republic itself. To this cause, sacred in its very nature, this volume is unreservedly devoted.

The time will probably come when we shall be confronted with the suggestion to revise our national Constitution. Should such a question ever arise, we should repudiate the proposition as exceedingly perilous to our liberties. There can be no need of such a procedure. A revision can only mean a change of language or principle, or both. The language of this instrument is perspicuous beyond cavil, while its principles have stood the test of a century and a half.

So long as the stability of our fundamental law remains a fixed and safe anchorage for state legislation, the state constitution may be revised from time to time to meet the varying needs of local government; but when we alter the principles of our federal Constitution, thus destroying its solidarity, we cut away the strong mooring of state law and set the ship of state adrift in dangerous waters.

In any convention called for the purpose of revising our fundamental or basic law, we shall certainly witness the domination of selfish interests; and the principles of government which have brought us to a conspicuous place among the world's great nations will be distorted and corrupted to selfish ends.

We may amend the Constitution as rare occasions may demand, but let us not countenance any confusing revision of this great instrument. Such action would be fraught with the gravest peril.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY

Every true democracy must, in the nature of things, be based upon certain great ethical and spiritual principles. It is these supporting principles alone which make government of the people, for the people, and by the people a practical reality. These principles have all sprung from man's primitive intuitions or his original religious truth, and the ethical systems derived from them, whether viewed in their individual or national application, have varied only with the different racial or national efforts to harmonize these principles in the world's life. Thus, while all races of men have possessed the same great fundamental truth, or religious concept, they have not all considered it from the same viewpoint. Some have had a clearer insight into its nature—have entertained it in a far purer state than others—and these races or nations have always made greater progress in civilization; while less favored, or at any rate less fortunate ones, have lingered in their advancement. But all nations or races, whatever their respective interpretations of the truth may be, need to apply its principles in their efforts to work out their own peculiar destinies. This intuitive truth is the impelling law of life-development, individual and national, and there can be no permanent improvement without it. Each nation, therefore, must apply this truth, in accordance with its own concept thereof, in its struggle for its own uplift. As this is an inalienable individual right, so it is also an inalienable national right.

As national progress and development are founded upon the interpretation and application of this truth in the affairs of men, and as mankind's chief hope for the future must depend upon its wise application in human government, it follows that each nation must scrupulously preserve its own ideals from contamination, and, in consequence, must, in its relations in the sisterhood of nations, be considered foreign to every other.

Thus, while the doctrine of the Brotherhood of Man is true in a universal sense, the different aggregations of men known

as nations have, under present conditions, their own peculiar interpretations or ideals, which they are duty bound to protect, since upon these alone their character and progress must at last depend. And since it is the duty of the State in its progressive policies to apply only those great ethical principles universally recognized as undebatable and true, so it has been considered wise and timely in most democracies to divorce the State from all those religious or sectarian creeds or tenets of debatable and therefore uncertain character. The public welfare has been deemed best subserved by confining the discussion and application of these undetermined doctrines to the several Churches, to which they of right appertain. But while this is unalterably true, it is also true that the divine laws underlying the development of human life constitute the only lasting foundation of all true and free government. The independent cooperation of the forces of mind and spirit is the *sine qua non* to progress. From this truism there can be no possible escape.

THE IDEALS OF DEMOCRACY

(As the nation is a product of mind, its ideals must be those of its ruling power. This is peculiarly true of democracy which is a nation composed of progressive freemen united for mutual protection, advancement and development. As it is a product of the popular mind and, therefore, an expression of the popular character, it must partake of the constitution of its ~~in-~~ ~~tegral~~ units. But man is constituted of three principles—the physical, mental and spiritual—and possesses faculties which enable him to function on these three planes. So democracy, in obedience to the will of its creators, must function on all three planes. Its physical functions are production, distribution and consumption; its mental functions are legislation, ~~judicature~~, and execution; and its spiritual functions are wisdom, justice, ~~and beneficence~~. To fulfil its true mission in the world, it must function freely on all three planes, from above downward—from the spiritual to the physical. Thus, it must be wise, just, and beneficent in the legislation, interpretation, and execution of law regulatory of the production, distribution, and consumption of the daily necessities of the people, and all laws looking to their physical, mental, and spiritual protection and education. It must produce, by a proper system of education, a man of the best physical structure, the loftiest intellectual faculties, and the noblest spiritual virtues. It must cultivate all that is best and eliminate all that is worst in the physical, mental, and spiritual constitution of the citizen. In this way only may it perform its real purpose of serving the comfort, happiness, and progressive development of its people.)

But as democracy is a product of the popular mind, its true power must spring from the people's highest attainable education of the three constituent principles of human nature. Thus the higher and truer the education of the people, the higher and truer will be their democracy; and the higher and truer the democracy, the higher and more profound will popular education be; for it is the first duty of democracy to steadily

raise the culture of the masses. The education of its citizenry is not only its sole hope of continued existence, but its sole hope of highest achievement.

The ideal of democracy must, therefore, spring from the ideal of its people. In other words, the nobler and more exalted the popular mind, arising from the contemplation of the harmony, beauty, and perfection of the physical, mental, and spiritual ordination of human nature, the grander the democracy, and the broader the scope of its beneficence. The sanest and truest idealism of the citizenship, in its application to the nation and to the world, is the highest ideal of the democracy; and it is toward the actualization of this ideal that its citizens should strive to lift it. Herein our paramount duty. Herein lies our only hope. We must raise the ideals of our people! Where these are suffered to decline to a point where self-government is impossible, democracy collapses, disintegrates and dissolves under the corrosive power of corruption, and all the fruits of decades and perhaps centuries of arduous and painful toil are lost to the race and civilization. We shall then be under the painful necessity of groping our way for years through anarchistic tyranny and political chaos, until we shall re-learn the lessons of spiritual truth, and regain the pathway of progress. Nor, under such circumstances, would there be any possibility of an early restoration, since the only foundation of popular government, the mental and spiritual intelligence of the people, will have been destroyed.

Where there are evidences of decline in the idealism of the people, we should proceed without delay to prohibit the importation of all foreign elements with their varying ideals, nor should we resume this importation until, through a system of intensive education, such foreign elements as have already been admitted into the body politic shall be wholly and completely Americanized and absorbed. No business considerations should be permitted to obstruct this necessary procedure. For the nation to pursue a contrary course is the climax of folly—is, indeed, treason to its truest interests. For the nation to protect the race and civilization of its people is to discharge its first and paramount duty. For the nation to protect its race is not to

disparage other races, but to preserve the purity of its blood and civilization, to which every law of nature and justice yields the right.

(A contemplation of the foregoing facts must lead us to the conclusion that democracy is a physical, mental, and spiritual union of power in an entity designed to favor the development of the best possible life of the citizen and the supreme good in the nation.)

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CITIZEN

As exalted and beneficent as the principles of our national Constitution are, they will fail of their aim if not properly enforced in our national life. Of what benefit could they be if not made potent factors in our civilization? If we are not to use them, we may as well be without them. If we are to bury ourselves in darkness, we may as well not have the light. A principle in the abstract is but a mere concept of philosophy. It must be applied in the practical, everyday life of the world if it is to achieve its divine purpose.

These great constructive principles do not belong to us alone. They are the foundation stones of all liberal and humane governments, especially of democracies. It is thus the duty of democracy everywhere to apply these principles, by a proper and adequate system of administration, to the needs of humanity. The life of man, individually and collectively, must be aligned with them. In no other way may he develop his physical, mental, and spiritual nature in accordance with divine decree. They constitute the sole law of life development.

But there is no individual development without individual responsibility and freedom. Without freedom of action the individual is restrained in progress; and without responsibility, he may not ennoble his life. Responsibility, with the freedom to act for self and others, is the spur to personal effort. But there can be no individual responsibility, with liberty, in the autocracy, it matters not whether that form of government be exercised by an individual or by all the people. In the one instance, it takes the form of absolute monarchy; in the other, that of a socialism. In either form of government, individual liberty and responsibility are lost; and the individual becomes a slave to the system. And as individual aspiration and initiative decline under the paralyzing power of the autocracy, so the nation falls into sluggish life, and the hope of human progress languishes. All personal grandeur in the citizen perishes as he becomes a mere passive cog in the sluggish wheel of State.

Democracy is the only form of government which grants the freedom requisite to a normal individual development; and it is the democracy alone which creates individual responsibility. As man advanced along the path of his destiny, ever broadening in experience and knowledge, he came to know the administration of public affairs was best done when he had a direct and personal part in its conduct. Not only did he find that administration thus purer and better, but that it made him broader, wiser, and nobler. He thus came eventually to possess a more intimate acquaintance with his fellows; to know more of their needs and requirements; more of their misfortunes and adversities; more of their aspirations and hopes; more of their ideals regarding life and its responsibilities. He came to appreciate more deeply the interrelations of men, to enter more profoundly into sympathy with them, and to realize the nature and necessity of their fraternal and social kinship. He came to know the family-hood of his people—that in this great national family every member is, by the benevolence of democratic principle, on an equal footing with every other before the law and proffered opportunity, and that all labor in trustful harmony for the advancement and ennoblement of their great and free society. He also came to know that democracy, the rule of the people, has always been regarded by autocracy as its deadliest enemy, and that, in consequence, the existence of democracy is ever in peril and that it can only be preserved by the tireless vigilance and unfailing devotion of the people.

Under efficient democracy man reaches the most exalted expression of his individual and collective life. Under its wholesome guidance his highest civilization is realized. And through the operation of its beneficent principles, he enjoys the largest measure of liberty, happiness, and enlightenment. It is, then, the citizen's highest duty to maintain it in its purity. A corrupt democracy has ever been among the most tyrannical governments. Under such a system oppressive oligarchies grow up, varying in number with the extent of the nation, and eventually arrogate to themselves the authority of the central power and exercise it to selfish ends.

When democracy has failed to fulfil its whole mission, the

fault lies not in its principles but in the faulty enforcement of these principles. We as citizens have proved unfaithful to these principles, and suffer as the result. The hand of retribution never fails to fall with oppressive weight upon the people who neglect to faithfully enforce the principles of their own rule.

When defects in democratic government arise, as is likely to occur in any human institution, the people should go intelligently about correcting them, since they alone are responsible for the conditions. But in this work proper conservatism and wisdom should be used. Hysterical and violent action can but result in failure. Not only does it fail to reform the evil, but actually adds to it by substituting greater evils, until all is lost. Such action on the part of the citizen is fraught with the gravest peril not only to the community but to himself as well. Such a reactionary citizen is like the man who, discovering defects in the house it was his duty to keep in proper repair, rushes into frenzy and pulls down the sheltering structure upon the heads of his innocent family, and with them perishes in the ruins. The logical course for this man would be to go about intelligently repairing his residence with a view to making it a happier and fitter future abode for himself and family.

And so it should be with the true citizen. If he finds defects arising in his democracy, it is his privilege and duty to join with his fellow-citizens to remove them by the proper use of the ballot. To destroy his system of government by frantic and hysterical violence is the climax of madness. Reactionism is the antithesis of progress, and within its poisonous shadow liberalism and advancement cannot survive. In the democracy the citizen is supreme. The majority may make any alteration deemed necessary to the welfare of all. But no minority has any right to change a law or distort a principle for its special benefit. Such a procedure is subversive of all orderly government, under whose flag and shield alone it is possible for civilized man to live. Violent reactionism is, therefore, suicidal, as it perishes from a poison administered by its own hand.

Thus, if the citizen hopes to preserve for himself and his

posterity a free and progressive democracy, he must protect the means by which alone it is maintained. He must protect the purity of his neighbor's ballot, and keep his own unsullied. Moreover, he must devote himself assiduously on behalf of the cultivation of both head and heart—to the thorough education of the electorate as the only escape from national calamity, and as the very keystone in the superstructure of our civilization. He must place country above all other considerations, and be content to share in the general prosperity of his countrymen. He has no right to demand special favors or privileges at the expense of his fellow-citizens, but must share with them alike in their prosperity or their adversity. He must seek to unite his countrymen in one homogeneous citizenship whose aspiration shall be to think of one country and one flag in promoting the loftiest civilization in our own land and tendering its blessings to the world.

To these ends, he must protect and maintain the principles of our national Constitution at all hazards. No citizen, whether capitalist, laborer, or a member of any other class, can afford to allow these beacons to become extinguished. They are the only lights we have to guide us along the uncertain pathway we must traverse in our search for a better and nobler national life; and these beacons proper education alone will enable us to perceive and utilize.

To the true American of today, the recognition of full responsibility to the country is the overwhelming need of the hour.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVERNMENT

Government in the democracy, when true to its nature, must perform three great functions—to make, to interpret, and to enforce the law. This responsibility the people have trustfully confided to it.

The first function is performed when the will of all the people, not a particular group of citizens, is expressed in the effort to subserve the welfare, progress, and happiness of the whole nation.

The second function is accomplished when the laws are honestly and sincerely adjusted in every cause, whether individual or corporate. Where partiality and favoritism are shown in the interpretation and application of the law, the law itself and the judicial authority involved fail of their true purpose.

The third function of government, the enforcement of the law, is, if possible, more vital than either of the others. The law will avail but little unless honestly enforced. There is no other method of testing its effects. If bad, it will thus be detected; if good, it will bestow its benefaction as intended. The lax or partial enforcement of the law in city, state, or nation must sooner or later encourage the activity of evil influences. These malevolent forces are ever tugging at the leash and only await the moment it breaks to turn loose their fury upon the peaceable citizen. There must be no favor shown to individual or group. The law is for the protection of all citizens alike against the inherent imperfections of human nature, and not for the material benefit of any particular citizen or group of citizens.

Where the government, through fear, corrupt politics, or for any other reason, fails to honestly, fearlessly, and vigorously enact, interpret, and enforce the law, it practically enters into collusion with the evil forces to exploit the people and to undermine their national life. The result is the same whether the failure arises from fear or unmeritorious timidity. Nor can any other conclusion be reached. Government, when worthy of the name and possessed of a proper sense of responsibility, will

assume an attitude of undeviating justice toward all interests, but stand unflinchingly behind the principles of a free democracy. To do less is to evince a dangerous vacillation and insipid weakness. To show indecision in times of danger is to imperil the life of the nation. Government is the exponent of the people's will and is therefore omnipotent, and no citizen or group of citizens may rise equal to, let alone superior to, it.

THE ESSENTIALITY AND SANCTITY OF THE FRANCHISE

When a people retire from their dependency upon another people and settle upon some delimited area of the earth's surface, they become an independent and sovereign State. There is no power above theirs save that of Providence. They have assumed responsibility for their own racial and national destiny; and whether they ascend to the loftiest civilization or gradually decline into a state of barbarism, rests solely with them.

But to properly wield this ruling power, they must, of necessity, organize it into a suitable system of government. This government will be determined by their particular genius. A highly intelligent and liberty-loving people will prefer the democracy, because in this form of government their will is more freely expressed. Here every individual surrenders something of his own independent power for the common good; and it is only natural that he should desire to participate in the framing and direction of the system by which this delegated power is to be exercised. Firstly, he demands the power shall be well and wisely applied in the accomplishment of the desired object. Secondly, as his interests are inseparably bound up in those of the community, he seeks a part in the management of its affairs.

To achieve these two desiderata, he reserves the right to express his will by casting the ballot. This is to him a sacred right, and must be preserved unsullied. By its exercise he protects himself and the community; while through its loss he lapses into slavery and the nation into barbarism.

Every citizen, therefore, who has the proper qualities of head and heart should be invested with the franchise; but any citizen who has not these necessary qualifications should lose it. This must be self-evident to thinking men, as the ends of democracy can be achieved in no other way. Let the citizen not discredit the sanctity of the franchise.

Its proper exercise must forever depend upon the intelligence, conscience, and freedom of the citizen. The foundations

of democracy are steadily undermined when the freedom of the citizen to cast an honest ballot is in any manner infringed. No greater enemy to republican form of government could be found than the man who, through any unjust or corrupt means, seeks to deprive his fellow-citizen of his right to cast a free and untrammelled vote in popular elections. The avowed enemy is far less dangerous. The corrupter of the franchise, who perambulates the nation in the garb of patriotism while in the precincts of the polling booth thrusts the dagger of pollution into the vitals of this sacred privilege, is as reprehensible and dangerous, if not more so, to the principles of free democracy as the man who openly boasts its destruction.

Every citizen who claims the honor of being a freeman should see that his right to cast his ballot as he pleases is not compromised, provided he casts it from conscientious motives; for he has no more right than any one else to corrupt it. No citizen can be a free and true man who allows another to control his franchise. Every real citizen will cast a fearless vote. He cannot afford to do otherwise. It would involve a sacrifice of manly pride and civic virtue he could not afford to make.

RESTRICTION OF THE FRANCHISE

One of the most far-reaching functions of the State, through its government, is the regulation of the franchise. In every State, except the despotism or absolute monarchy, the cooperation and sanction of the people in constructive legislation are sought. This can only be secured by the popular vote which registers the popular will. The franchise is, therefore, a most sacred power, since it may either defend and support the State, or steadily undermine its fundamental principles. It is, then, a matter of great moment upon whom it is bestowed. This power should only be confided to such as are in perfect harmony with the national ideals and aspirations. To confer it upon those ignorant of or out of sympathy with these ideals is to jeopardize the hopes and ambitions of the nation. For this reason, it is unwise to grant this sacred right to any foreigner of mature years when admitted, as it is impossible for him to divest himself of the ideals of his native country, implanted as they have been from his early youth. All foreigners over twelve years of age when admitted, and all children of foreigners educated in the country of parental nativity, should be refused the franchise, as they cannot but be imbued with foreign ideals. Only the offspring of foreigners, under twelve years of age when admitted and educated in the schools of the adopted country, should have the right of franchise in that country. The only other alternative to this exigency is the most painstaking and intensive education of the foreigner, in the hope new ideals in accord with those of his adopted country may be instilled, and supplant those previously inculcated. Capricious endeavors along these lines will inevitably result in failure. The efforts must be continuous and persistent, and even then we must be prepared for failure.

The purity of the ballot should, above all other considerations, be preserved, and every citizen, native or foreign born, who defiles his ballot by bribery or other corrupt practice, should be disfranchised and severely punished by a long term of imprisonment. The pollution of the sacred right of franchise by

offering or accepting a bribe should merit the severest punishment possible, since no practice could be more dangerous or fatal to the future interest of the State. Every safeguard should be thrown about this sacred privilege to see that it is properly used, as it is at once the most honorable and the most potent that a free and independent community can bestow upon its citizens. It is the flaming sword with which the citizen may assist in the defense of his country or join with its enemies in its partial or complete overthrow. The State, especially the democracy, must never cease to inculcate this truth in the minds of its children. No more vital duty could possibly be attached to their future responsibility to their country.

SELECTION OF PUBLIC OFFICERS

Every government should seek to secure trained employes. But these can only be produced through proper education, which consists in the normal and equal development of body, mind, and spirit. No citizen can be properly educated where either of his principles is neglected. All the highest officers of State should be elective—should be chosen by the direct vote of the people—while the subordinate positions should be filled by competitive examinations, with a view to securing the most proficient incumbents. As the people are the repository of all power, they should elect by their ballots all important officers in their service, and provide the law whereby less important positions may be filled by competitive examination. They should also exercise the power of recall, so that they may be able to remove an incompetent or recalcitrant servant. In this way officers of the government would be responsible directly to the people, and could at any time be removed by them when deemed advisable. To question the people's right in this regard is to insult their democracy.

The civil service examinations should be thorough and adapted to the employment in view, and in all cases should be fair and impartial, since in this way only may the inalienable right of the citizen to serve his country be safeguarded. The incumbents of civil service positions, irrespective of political faction or party, should depend upon efficiency and good behavior, and any removal for other reasons should be punishable by fine and the dismissal of the offender. And to secure prompt and effective action in such cases, special tribunals should have jurisdiction over all civil service complaints.

It is not to be supposed that the entire nation would be required to vote on every district officer; the election of such officers could be safely entrusted to the people of the particular district interested.

In all elections the people should reserve the right to contest and correct error. Such procedure should not be left to the initiative of the candidate, but the elective power, the people,

should take the necessary action, as they are most vitally concerned and affected by the irregularity.

Moreover, all candidates should be equal before the election law, nor should a candidate be the favorite or agent of any particular interest. He should not be allowed to go further than to present his name as an aspirant to the preferred office, and should be prohibited going about the community immodestly proclaiming his own assumed qualifications and decrying those of his opponents. When once his name has been enrolled among those of the candidates, he should have no further action in the matter, but should await with patience the decision of the electors.

No vast campaign fund should be allowed, as it only serves to corrupt the elector. As the people are seeking the officer, they should defray all the expenses of the election; and no candidate should be required, expected, or allowed to contribute toward such a public expense.

All public elections should be held by the citizen as occasions of national sanctity, and all efforts to debauch the elector, or in any manner to pollute the ballot or vitiate the election, should be visited by the severest punishment, including disfranchisement and a long term of imprisonment, or, better still, by perpetual banishment from the nation. No punishment can be considered too severe which preserves the power and purity of the ballot, since upon its proper use hangs the life of the democracy.

SHOULD THE PUBLIC OFFICER VOTE

In a great democracy, such as ours, where nearly a million citizens are in the government employ, great temptation exists for these public servants to combine their voting power to maintain their tenure of office, and thus defeat the will of the people. This is in the direction of a tyrannous oligarchy, and may lead to an autocratic aristocracy.

There should be a national statute automatically disfranchising the government officer, from the highest to the lowest, on entering office, and reenfranchising him on leaving it. The temptation is entirely too great to serve his own interests at the expense of the public. This inclination is inherent in human nature. The selfish impulses of man ever seek the ascendancy over his better qualities. The people have the right to protect themselves against this innate propensity of their public servants by depriving them during their tenure of office of the instrument whereby this imposition is made possible. And to this end the people must follow the line of their own judgment. They must expect to meet with energetic opposition from the professional politician and his friends.

The protest against such action on the ground that the citizen would be deprived of his political rights is untenable, since he may as safely trust his interests with the people as they trust theirs with him.

In this manner government policies would more truly reflect the will of the people, and the public servants be more responsive to the power which creates and sustains them.

The day is probably not far distant when the question of the nationalization of public utilities will come more prominently before the people for consideration, and when that time arrives they will be compelled to consider also the matter of disfranchising the public servant. This must be done, if they expect to retain the governing power in their own hands, and not surrender it to a ruling class.

THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL

Government should ensure to the people, by actual practice, the principle of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. As the people are the repository of all power, all national legislation of importance should be initiated by them. As they are the governed, they should demand the laws by which they are to be governed. Legislation by representative assemblies is just and wise in so far as it meets the will of the masses of the people. Legislation which fails duly to consider the interests of all the people is class legislation, and is oppressive, tyrannical, and iniquitous. All proposed national legislation of important bearing should, before becoming a law, be referred back to the people for their proper ratification. In this way, the people will become fully acquainted with the various proposed legislative measures, and will be in a position to accept or reject the same as their judgment may dictate, and thus be saved much inconvenience and perhaps injury.

Correlative with the powers of initiative and referendum should go the power of recall. The people should have the power to recall any public servant who, for any reason, has failed to discharge his proper duty to them. In no other way may they protect themselves against official corruption, tyranny, and oppression. Nor is this a new principle injected into the affairs of men. It is one of the commonest and most frequent principles practiced in every-day business life. The business man would be at a great disadvantage if he did not possess the right to discharge an incompetent or uncontrollable employe. He would thus be called to suffer unjust losses.

THE ALLEGIANCE OF THE CITIZEN

Government should compel a faithful allegiance of the citizen to his country; and in case of his refusal to comply with this sacred duty, should deprive him of all the rights and privileges of citizenship, and banish him from the confines of the nation. There can be no more destructive force in a nation than the infidelity of the citizen. To disregard the ideals of the nation and especially to ignore its appeals in its hour of greatest peril, is to send the fatal shaft into its vitals. No enemy could do more. Such action of the citizen merits the severest punishment, and when such a citizen can not be promptly deported, he should be promptly executed, especially when there is danger during war of his escape and when such escape may be fatal to the interests of his country. Such a life has ceased to be useful to the nation in which it exists, and should be destroyed if not conveniently deported; for it is not wise to permit its continuance in the nation. What can possibly be hoped for from such a heartless ingrate?

Government, if it hopes to preserve the State, must rigorously demand the most unfaltering allegiance and fidelity on the part of the citizen. Half-hearted measures to remove such disabilities are worse than useless, as they only tend to encourage the evil. Only the most determined, unflinching, and rigorous action will suffice to prevent national disaster from such a form of treason.

THE COORDINATION OF SUBORDINATE GOVERNMENTS

The central government should take the necessary steps to secure the most perfect correlation and coordination of the subordinate governments in the several political divisions of the nation, with a view to bringing about the harmonious cooperation of all these forces in the upbuilding and consolidation of the national citizenship and the development and evolution of a sane popular administration of public affairs.

The division of administrative responsibility among a plurality of independent governing units in a nation is most unwise and confusing, as it, of necessity, results in conflict of authority. The Articles of Confederation under which the thirteen original colonies won their independence on this continent, though doing invaluable service in that struggle, proved their insufficiency as a permanent system of government, and were supplanted by the present national Constitution in which state sovereignty was surrendered to the nation, the state reserving only home-rule authority. Our nation is not a confederacy but a united and consolidated political entity. It is not formed of a group of independent sovereign states, each retaining its absolute independence or national sovereignty, but of a group of states which have surrendered their sovereignty to a Union, known as the United States. This principle was thoroughly established at the founding of the present government, and, though misunderstood by many, was again affirmed by the results of the unfortunate conflict between the states, which convulsed the nation in a deluge of passion for a period of more than four years. The people were thus disillusioned of state sovereignty, since they now conceive it impossible for two independent sovereignties to coexist side by side in the government of the same area. They now know that where there are two governing authorities in the same territory, one must be subordinate to the other, in other words, dependent upon the other. In order to harmonize the control of conflicting interests, the governing authority must converge in one governing

center. This should constitute the head, or fons et origo, of the legal authority. From this center all legislative authority, direct or indirect, should proceed, and to this center all ultimate responsibility should be referred and all ultimate obedience yielded. Thus, when the state authority fails, the national authority must be paramount. When obedience is divided among a plurality of independent governments in the same nation, if such a thing were possible, it becomes difficult, if not impossible, for the public to understand its full measure of responsibility. The citizen, on leaving one independent political division with whose laws he is familiar, at once, on entering another, becomes subject to laws of which he knows nothing. He is thus thrown into confusion and uncertainty and too frequently suffers a loss of individual initiative. He is unduly restrained by his ignorance of the laws of the various political units, and often gives up the contest as hopeless. He is thus largely prevented from availing himself of advantageous conditions beyond the limits of his own community, and is compelled to confine his energies to a less profitable environment. Furthermore, such a division or governing authority is inimical to that perfect homogeneity of spirit, which alone can create patriotism. Per contra, it tends to a dangerous heterogeneity of sentiment, from which spring indifference if not treason.

A healthy national patriotism cannot spring from a plurality of divergent and frequently discordant independent governing units in the same nation. Such units must eventually surrender their independence and sovereignty to the central power and exist as integral parts of one common nation. They then become so many media of the central power for the government of the whole. Not that the separate political units shall surrender their home-rule authority, but that the central power becomes the authority of last appeal. In this way these several units become the administrative instruments for applying not only local but national laws within their respective confines. This means one nation, one ideal, and one law; and all focused upon one common end. This is the consolidated nation, whose omnipotence is unquestioned at home and recognized abroad, ready to take its place among the great powers of the

earth to safeguard the persons and interests of its citizens at home and in other lands, and to favor and facilitate the development of the noblest civilization among mankind.

A federation of sovereign states can never compare in any beneficent regard with a consolidated nation. The government of the former must be a compromise sanctioned by the sovereign units, while that of the nation expresses the will of a united people. In the former the allegiance of the citizen is divided between the sovereign unit and the confederacy, while in the latter it is yielded to one central power. A centralized nation is not adverse to the largest share of popular liberty. Nor is a centralized government impossible in a democracy. A people, as well as a monarch, may rule a centralized nation. In truth, such a nation is safest in the hands of the people, where they have received and utilize a broad and liberal education. Ignorance is a menace alike to a republic and a monarchy. The intelligence of the people is the only hope of either, when it aims at a just and beneficent administration. Hence no pains or expense should be spared to lift the people by proper education to the highest level of intellectual and ethical culture, since it is only thus that they may be able to efficiently govern themselves.

The ideal government of the future is a strongly consolidated republic, ruled by a homogeneous people highly educated in both head and heart, deeply sensitive to the noblest impulses of the race, and quickly responsive to the responsibility of safeguarding every interest of the individual citizen, and promptly repressing his inherent imperfections in the interest of himself and all the community. But, by reason of the above facts, it must be admitted that the ideal republic is the most difficult of all governments to maintain.

But difficult as the task appears, our Republic aims at nothing less than the noblest expression of human government yet achieved. The wisdom and foresight of the founders in leaving the home-rule authority in the hands of the states has been fully confirmed by the course of subsequent events. The steady expansion of our public domain, bringing into action such variety of climate, soil, and topography, has rendered it

difficult, if not impossible, for the national government to rule in all the details of these varied regions, as it has done in the very limited District of Columbia. Thus the local government of the states has been left to the inhabitants of the states, who are more intimately acquainted with their wants and requirements than a distant national Congress could possibly be. In this manner the people of each state or political division rule directly over their affairs, while shaping their laws in full accord with the principles of the national Constitution. This principle, though bought at such a price, is at last definitely established as one of the fundamental truths of our democracy, and contains the promise of a still grander development.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

So long as might makes right among nations, so long as there is no common scheme for preventing international violence, such scheme taking the form not of a passive recognition of the principle but a positive application of it, so long will it be necessary for the wise and provident State to provide for its defense against powerful and rapacious members in the family of nations. To this end, every resource of the nation, political and industrial as well as military and naval, should be organized and prepared to do its part in the great cause of national security at the least cost of time and money. Every citizen, male and female, should be trained and ready to perform the particular part assigned in the conflict for national preservation.

This training of the masses should be had in the public schools and great state universities, while the education required in the higher officers should be afforded by the great military and naval academies broadened and enlarged to meet every demand. This will, of course, cost the people, but nothing in comparison with that of life as well as treasure should they permit themselves to be attacked and overwhelmed through lack of proper preparation.

Hand in hand with this popular military and industrial training should go the thorough inculcation of the doctrine of the blessings of peace and good-will among the nations of the earth. The pupil should be taught the horrors of war and the glory of peace, and the necessity of avoiding the one and favoring the other whenever such action is at all possible. He should be taught to antagonize offensive or aggressive war, and should be instructed to favor war for principle or defense only. He should be intensively instructed in the principle of international justice, and that right among nations is as obligatory upon human conscience as right among men; that the nation has no more right to violate the laws and precepts of ethics than has the individual. In this manner the military spirit will be avoided, and the sentiment of patriotism be greatly

accentuated. To proceed along the path of national development, ignorant or disregarding of the perils which lurk along the pathway of the growing and enriching nation, is a gigantic error and suicidal folly. For the citizenry of a free and independent State to be prepared to defend that State against unjust invasion of its rights and liberties does not mean aggressive or offensive war, but a sane and rational precaution against national immolation upon the altar of foreign ambition and greed. National defense, like individual self-defense, springs from the heart of nature.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

If democracy is created and sustained by the will of the people, its most effective form must needs rest upon their intelligence. Democracy based upon ignorance is impossible. Its successful survival must depend upon the best education of head and heart its citizens are capable of receiving. Public education, then, is one of the most important functions of the democratic State, since upon it alone the quality of the electorate must depend.

Every youth of the nation, male or female, should be afforded at least the rudiments of a liberal education, and all such facilities should secure to every one the opportunity to acquire a liberal or advanced instruction according to the ability or inclination of the pupil.

This training can be best secured by a uniform system with its supervisory center at the nation's capital. This system should consist of elementary schools and universities in the various states, in the latter of which vocational departments should be established for the proper preparation of the pupil for the chosen field of his future labor.

Proper buildings and equipments should be provided and maintained, but care should be taken not to develop by unnecessary ostentation the tendency to extravagance in the pupil. Such environment should inspire respect and admiration but not the vulgar sentiment of extravagance.

As no field of thought is exhausted, it should be the duty of the public school and state university to inculcate all the principles of modern science, history, and philosophy, and to encourage the student to higher endeavor and independent research along all avenues of investigation. These educational agencies should ground the pupil in all the fundamental principles of these several departments of knowledge, and leave it to his ambition to erect as he sees fit the intellectual fabric of the future upon the foundations he has thus laid.

These institutions should be compulsory and free to all, and carefully guarded against the attacks of all unfriendly influ-

ences. The enemy of the public school is the enemy of the State. But many so-called enemies of these institutions are not enemies at all, but honest critics, who do not desire their destruction but their improvement. Then, there are other influences which, though really friendly to these institutions, nevertheless selfishly exploit them for private gain. The public schools should be most jealously guarded and protected against all such influences, especially against the insidious assaults of partisan political rings, who only seek to perpetuate themselves in power through the exploitation of favoritism or position, or an ambitious sectarianism which seeks to turn the young thought of the land into channels of its own making, in order thereby to impose its own dictum upon the human conscience. No more destructive or paralyzing influence could be injected into public educational systems. Under such a potency, independent thought, which is essential to intellectual and material progress, is impossible. And yet in this independent intelligence lies democracy's only hope. The patriotic citizen will, therefore, oppose to the utmost all such pretensions. But care must be taken not to include among the enemies of the public schools any citizen or group of citizens who earnestly desire to spiritualize them. And this is true whether the group be sectarian or not. Such influence, so long as it proposes to inculcate spiritual truth or ethics and not doctrinal precepts, cannot be regarded as inimical to the public school.

Again, these institutions should be free from hysteria and fanciful experiment. The public school is no place for experimentation. The results of such a course are too calamitous to the citizen and State. These educational agencies should be peculiarly sane in character and conducted along the line of ripe experience. To permit the practice of all kinds of hysterical "fadism" in public educational systems is to defeat, in large measure, the purpose for which they have been established. Nor are they improved by constantly changing the curricula. The curriculum should be carefully selected in the beginning, and then allowed to stand until such time as it may be necessary to change in the interest of progress. But to be changing the curricula yearly or even oftener to meet some selfish in-

terest, political or otherwise, is to throw the young mind into confusion from which it emerges with difficulty and disadvantage. Moreover, such practices unjustly increase the financial burdens of the pupil, who is thus compelled to purchase new educational literature when his present possessions would probably meet all requirements.

Then, again, these institutions should be conducted by the best trained intellects in the land, both as regards administrators and instructors. The State should lay aside narrow parsimony, and provide sufficiently munificent salaries to command this high grade intelligence. These instructors should also be pensioned, so as to remove as far as possible any apprehension regarding their future maintenance. They should possess not only trained minds but the most exalted characters. The blind cannot intelligently or safely lead the blind. Neither can a deformed and distorted nature properly teach the young. These teachers should not only inculcate the curricula of their respective departments, but should zealously cooperate with home influences in broadening and developing the ethical nature of the pupil. For no pupil can be properly educated when either the intellect or spirit is neglected. The head and heart must be cultivated together. No State can long survive the evil results of educating the head and neglecting the heart. In the one case, it produces a shrewd scoundrel, in the other, a pious do-nothing. In the true and faithful citizen, both must be developed. No citizenship can or will be patriotic which ignores the promptings of the spirit. The nation is doomed whose citizenship repudiates divine truth and over which the god of Mammon reigns supreme. In such a nation the dictates of an insatiable greed sooner or later stifles the holiest sentiments of the heart, and hurries the citizen on from misdemeanor to crime, until all respect for law is lost, and all patriotism has departed. The nation then becomes a lawless mob, in which all restraint is gone, and which only awaits the auspicious moment to burst forth in a disastrous conflagration, involving all, good and evil alike, in a common destruction.

The ethical training of the child can only be derived from

two secular sources, the home and the public school. No sane man will question the great work done by the Church, but we are now speaking of secular education, and must not invade the theological field. This ethical training of the child is the *sine qua non* of democratic hope. Its absence in the child is the prelude to adult failure. It is the strongest pillar of the State. The earliest and most lasting ethical impressions are received at the maternal knee where the child goes at nightfall to perform the last and noblest duty of the passing day. The pure and holy lessons inculcated here are never entirely eradicated from youthful memory and serve as a wholesome inspiration and unfailing guide throughout the young life. How important, then, that the mother should properly appreciate her responsibilities in this regard! And how unfortunate when she neglects this noble privilege in her haste to attend the fashionable functions of the hour! The American mother cannot be unmindful of the duties she owes to her offspring, herself, and her country. She may not disregard these sacred responsibilities, and hope to escape the just censure of posterity. Nemesis is never distanced in the race.

Many have objected to the ethical training of the child in the public school, because of an apprehension of the possibility of distorting its peculiar religious faith. This fear would be well founded if the inculcation of doctrinal dogma were permitted. But this is just what we have warned against. Sectarianism, under no circumstances, should be injected into these institutions, but the great principles of the Decalogue, clothed in language sanctioned by the consensus of present-day religious thought, should be made the foundation of the pupil's ethical life. No creed or sect could reasonably object to these principles, containing as they do the very essence of ethical philosophy. Where shall we go to find better guides to personal conduct? Why cannot the various religious bodies in the nation unite in producing a text of these guiding principles which may be safely included in the curricula of these public educational institutions? Is it possible that human prejudice has surmounted human reason? Such training in the public school would greatly assist the home in laying the

foundation of a correct and upright character in the child, upon which the nation must forever repose its chief hope of continued benefaction, and even of its existence.

Only the unselfish cooperation of all educational agencies, aided by ample appropriations to meet all requirements, will ultimately unify our people, and lift them into that intellectual and ethical atmosphere where advanced democracy is possible. By some such system only may each prospective citizen be best taught to serve himself and his country.

It therefore behooves every people who love justice and liberty to guard with sleepless vigilance their systems of public instruction wherein the youth of the land is prepared for a useful and independent citizenship. Neglect to perform this sacred duty is followed by an inexorable retribution in which all that is most dear to a free and liberty-loving people is lost. The wise citizen, then, will guard the public schools, as the bulwarks of his liberty, against all influences which may surreptitiously rob them of their due power and efficiency in the work of national development. Thus only may our constitutional principles be perpetuated.

THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF THE FINE ARTS

Art is the portrayal of the beautiful and good in form, color and sound, and cannot be neglected by the State, especially the democracy, without failure in one branch of its system of popular education. The true democracy must educate its citizen in all that makes for true manhood. This education must not only take cognizance of his material advancement, not only prepare him for a useful life in the community, but must develop him for the noblest existence. The State must thoroughly develop, and maintain the normal balance of, all three principles of his nature—the physical, the mental and the spiritual; and it distorts his life in the proportion that it fails to do so.

It is true that sculpture, painting and drawing are not positive forces of progress, but merely depict the beauty and grace of the physical domicile of the soul and show the play of its emotions therein. The products of these arts are but the symbols of the creative activities of the soul and can act only as facile suggestions to the inquisitive mind.

It is left to the gymnasium and the sanitarian to foster the development of the most perfect expression of the physical body. A gymnasium should be attached to every school and college of the nation, and proper exercise provided to meet the fullest demands of the growing youth; but care should be taken not to brutalize the young by excessive physical development, or overstrain the musculature by too arduous practice. Each youth varies from every other in the character and amount of exercise required for normal development, and hence exercise should, in every case, be adjusted by competent medical advice, and related to every stage of young life; and it should be constantly impressed upon the mind of the participant that the real purpose of human life in all its phases is identical with the teleological purpose of the State and world—to achieve the highest possible good—to expand and strengthen the faculties of the soul—that the purpose of physical exercise is not only to

secure strength for a useful life in the community, but also to favor the highest potency of the soul.

While this physical exercise is in progress, sculpture, painting and drawing should lend their aid by furnishing the best models for guidance and the most active incentives to continued effort. Not only do these arts do this, but they also reflect the beauty and redolence of the spiritual emotions. They exhibit a blending of the physical, mental, and spiritual attributes of the subject that inspire the mind of youth and lead toward a better life. But this, of course, depends upon the motive of the artist. The portrayal of the baser instincts of human nature can never elevate or refine thought; only that of the nobler emotions will expand and strengthen the spiritual faculties. The State must, therefore, use due precaution in the selection of these works of art if they are expected to refine the higher nature of the citizen. It should secure only the works of the masters, or their reproductions, and place them in suitable museums where they will be accessible to the greatest number of the citizens. The State would be at some expense to place these works of art in accessible places for popular exhibition, but the good achieved would far outweigh the cost. Where marble and bronze are too expensive, plaster casts will serve the purpose until the public treasury shall be able to bear the burden of better material.

All advanced classes of the public schools and colleges should be required to make regular visits to these museums under the conduct of competent art instructors who should point out the several phases of excellence of each piece, and inculcate the beauty and ethics of each master's work. The attendance at these art lectures should be compulsory in all cases, and the lecturer should be required to make special effort to inspire in the pupil the sentiments and emotions of the artist. Such faithful endeavors cannot fail to add to the mental culture and spiritual refinement of the citizen.

Closely allied with the sculptor, painter and draftsman is the architect. The work of this artist is unsurpassed in splendor and impressive grandeur. Architecture is the concrete expression of civilization—of the history, science, literature,

philosophy and religion of the past ages. It is multum in parvo. It springs from the complexity of all human achievement. Unnumbered centuries look down from its templed heights, telling of the vicissitudes and fortunes of countless races which have long since vanished into the final gloom, each bequeathing to its successor the fruits of its labors. It symbolizes the beauty of the physical, the nobility of the mental, and the sublimity of the spiritual phases nature. It is an expression of the blending of the world's thought and feeling. Generation after generation of the races which have gone before has written on chiseled and polished stone the story of its joys and sorrows, of its successes and failures, of its hopes and despairs—of its material impressions and spiritual inspirations—in proclamation of the glory of human destiny and of the majesty of the Deity. Every scientific fact carved out by years of painful research, the essence of every racial tradition, the lofty thought woven by the tireless brain, the beautiful sentiment spun from the poet's fancy, and the sublime emotions prompted by spiritual devotions, all find their concrete expressions, or materializations, in the noble edifice which towers above us. Everywhere these great works of human genius, ancient and modern, rise in imposing grandeur. On the hill-sides, in the river valleys, and on the desert plains, of the world their ancient ruins, now, in many instances, the home of the jackal and the bittern, whisper through their silent corridors the truth of man's past renown; while their modern representatives in every great city of the civilized world lift their imposing spires and domes in exhibition of his unequalled greatness. The palace of the king, the official home of the State, and the temples erected in worship of the Deity, all require the highest material, mental and spiritual faculties of man and in their construction manifest his God-given power.

How is it possible, then, for the popular mind to escape the wonderful and awe-inspiring influence of architecture? As indifferent as we appear to be to these great monuments, we cannot evade the power of their persuasions. We stand overwhelmed in the presence of these massive creations of inspired genius, and are irresistibly led into the contemplation of the

great, the powerful and the good. Nor can we fail to arrive at the conviction that it is through such exalted reflections we may at last reach the great truth in human destiny and in the Divine purpose in the world. We shall thus be forced to accept the logical conclusion that the purpose of the true democratic State in its relations to human destiny must be identical with that of Divinity—the accomplishment of the highest possible good in human nature.

In view of these indisputable facts, it must be clear that it is a most important duty of the democracy to encourage its citizens to utilize the most beautiful and attractive styles of architecture in the construction of their homes, so as to blend these two qualities in the domiciles of their sacred family relations. Even the humblest abode may not ignore this natural demand without inflicting injustice upon its youthful inmates. Even here an earnest effort must be made to make these homes as attractive as the owner's means will permit.

Nor should the business building fail in this regard. In many nations utility has entirely supplanted esthetics in the erection of such structures. The building of unlimited height, with nothing else to recommend it, may indicate and portray the crude boldness and unrestrained audacity of the architect but never his artistic taste. This is a great and inexcusable error and meets its own retribution. Business processes in a beautiful building will always enjoy advantages over those housed in unattractive edifices. The business man cannot without loss ignore the just demands of human psychology. Such buildings need not be large and expensive to be beautiful, but money spent to develop the esthetic taste of the employe and patron can never go awry. Where it is necessary, utility should be sacrificed in a measure to esthetics in the erection of these structures.

In the case of the public building, even greater attention to architectural splendor should be given. No expense should be spared to make them as beautiful and imposing as art can render them. While the public edifice is primarily constructed for useful purposes, its impressiveness should, under no circumstances, be forgotten. The State should not be niggardly

in this regard. It should never construct an unattractive building in its effort to economize. If it has not sufficient funds available to erect an imposing structure, it should defer the enterprise till some future date. The citizen must be able to admire as well as respect the house of liberty. But he will fail in this respect, if his emotions are not called forth by the grandeur and magnificence of the public's home. All such buildings should be so constructed and so located as to be objects of inspiring contemplation and sources of the noblest impulses.

It follows from what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs that a squalid architecture has no place in a progressive democracy. It not only fails to elevate the citizen, but depresses his spirit and represses his higher emotions. And if it does not elevate his ideals, then does it lower them and in this proportion leads away from the real purposes of true Democracy. Such degenerate examples of a noble art should be emphatically discouraged by an aspiring public.

Thus, if the adult citizen is edified and lifted up by a magnificent architecture, it is certain the impressible youth will be more deeply affected by it. The advanced classes of all public educational systems should be required to make regular visits to the great public buildings in the vicinity, under the guidance of competent instructors who should point out the beauty and splendor of these buildings, and teach the principles of which they are composed and differentiated. And not only should the different styles of architecture be described, but the precepts involved in their grand truths should be intensively inculcated. In this way, the mental and spiritual horizons of the citizen will be broadened, and the youth led toward the haven of a better life.

We come now to the consideration of another expression of art, which is powerful to arouse the inner emotions. Music is a concord of sound that appeals strongly to the feelings and emotions of human nature. Its strains vibrate through all the three principles of man, and may arouse his basest appetites or stimulate his noblest virtues, according to the motive of the artist. It appeals to the citizen especially in his leisure hour, and thus paves the way to the loftiest contemplation. But

the truth inspired by music is identical with that inculcated by the other arts. By sculpture, painting, drawing, and architecture, we see the world is good; by music, we hear the world is good. The truths of the first four arts are shadowed to us in the visible garments of the grosser matter, while those of music are imaged to us in the intangible vibrations of the subtler elements. The harmony of sound, producing music, springs from the Divine law and leads to a contemplation of its infinite source. Herein resides the true value of music. It leads us along many various paths to the gardens of the infinite. By one strain, we are led back to the ways of childhood, to the green meadows, the sloping hills, the gentle woodlands with their chirping birds, to the rippling brook, the fruited field, the home and fireside where at even-tide we were wont to gather around the hearth-stone and maternal knee to offer up our sacred devotions. By its influence we are induced to live again these sacred memories and to feel again the gentle touch of these hallowed associations. Another stirs the soul's sympathy, and we weep over the misfortunes of others. Another, still, portrays the horrors of the raging storm, and causes us to tremble in the presence of Nature's omnipotence. Still another images forth the fury of battle, the roar of artillery, the din of musketry, the groans of the dying, and causes us to turn with horror from the awful carnage of war. Another whispers to us of the tender impulses of friendship and fraternal devotion, while the classic strains vibrate the grand and sublime truths of Divinity—of the mysterious and ineffable wisdom and glory of the Creator and His purposes in making the world. It is the power of music to call forth such a diversity of passion and emotion in the soul that gives to it its educational value.

But as music may arouse the nobler emotions of the soul, so it may excite the ignoble passions of human nature. This power must also be referred to the motive of the artist. It thus becomes the duty of the State to provide the very best character of music for the entertainment of its citizens. This music should be daily discoursed at a convenient place and at an hour when the people are at leisure, and should consist of such compositions as are elevating, pleasing and restful. The baser pro-

ductions should, under no circumstances, be rendered. What the "shimmy" is to the eye, the "jazz" is to the ear. Both outrage the senses and corrupt the soul. A State is inexcusably neglectful which allows the culture of its people to be poisoned at its source. It only sets the trigger to destroy its own life.

In view of the foregoing facts, it follows that the Democracy should use the full educational value of all the fine arts in the cultivation of the highest faculties of the citizen, to the end that his ennobled capacities may be constantly at his country's service. A people imbued with the lofty spirit of the fine arts will not suffer itself to lapse into the vortex of vulgar extravagance or a crude sensuous luxury, which will be fatal to every sacred impulse of humanity, but will reach up to the purer realities and purposes of its existence, and will express this idealism in the direction of its government.

SCHOOLS FOR THE MENTAL DEFECTIVES

The reformatories assume control of one class of defectives, the moral delinquents, but there should be institutions also for the education and development of the mental delinquents. Much can be accomplished by proper management in creating a useful citizen out of what we call the mental defective. Many of these citizens are really not defective at all, but have been badly managed at home or at school. They deserve the special consideration of an advanced State, if that State desires to utilize in its progress all the physical, mental, and spiritual energy of its citizen.

Such institutions, properly constructed, neatly equipped, and skillfully and intelligently conducted, would raise into a useful life many a defective now deemed hopeless. To neglect or cast off the defective as worthless, without an effort toward his development, is no part of the duty of a wise and progressive State. Per contra, it is overwhelming and convincing proof of its woeful lack of progressive thought. The aspiring and broadening State should exert itself, by all logical means, to preserve and develop its unfortunate citizen, already greatly handicapped by his disability, and, by educating and calling forth what of genius he or she possesses, create for them a useful place in society.

This responsibility appears to be augmented when we reflect that the State, in many instances, has largely contributed to the citizen's misfortune by neglecting to throw about his early youth those wholesome environments so essential to his normal growth. It has been shamefully indifferent to the conditions surrounding the early life of its prospective citizen, and has allowed unfavorable influences to stifle the rise and development of those qualities which alone could guarantee his future. Let the State, then, make amends, if such is possible, by endeavoring to ameliorate the calamity it has brought about. Let it go earnestly to work to improve the life of these unfortunates through their better education and preparation for useful life.

Let it establish proper schools, presided over by competent experts whose duty it shall be to study the individual cases with a view to applying the corrective treatment. In this manner, the State may, in a measure, add to the comfort of its neglected citizen; but no amount of pains or expense can ever fully remove the opprobrium under which it labors.

Proper medical service and religious observance should be provided, but under no circumstances should one ecclesiastical body be favored at the expense of another. All religious creeds should be admitted to service in these institutions on an equal footing. This is the only method of conferring the necessary religious consolation upon all inmates alike.

POLYTECHNIC EDUCATION

The State should establish and maintain polytechnic schools for the industrial education of its citizens. Not every youth cares to be an educator or professional man, and yet every one should be educated in some useful vocation. The best and most skillful work in any department of human labor can be secured only through education in that special field. The day appears to be past when untrained and uneducated labor was considered all sufficient. The day has arrived when the workman must show trained skill. He must show that he has been specially educated to perform his task. He must show that he not only possesses the practical experience, but also the scientific knowledge required in the execution of his work. He must, in other words, be a scientific operator.

It is the duty of the State, then, to establish polytechnic schools where the prospective workman may acquire both the science and operative skill requisite to his success. Not only will the citizen profit thereby, but the State will be aided in its great task of advancing civilization. The State, therefore, owes it both to itself and its citizen to develop his efficiency to the highest degree possible, compatible with his native talent.

It would seem that these industrial schools could be best attached to the state universities where all other auxiliary instruction would be easily accessible, but this matter should be left to the sound judgment of those who have such education in charge.

In some of our states, sporadic efforts have been made along these lines, and some good and efficient institutions have risen in obedience to this urgent need of the times; but these are but weak examples of what these institutions, under nationalization, will be when the public mind becomes fully aroused to the necessity.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

As under the demands of Divine Government every man is made individually responsible for his own acts, so he has the inalienable right to worship an all-wise Providence according to the dictates of his own conscience and his own concept of duty to his Maker, without the intervention of any other directing force. This is a most sacred and inviolable privilege and must, under no circumstances, be assaulted, so long as he keeps it within the holy precincts of his hearth and altar. But should he unwisely hurl this noble individual concept into public life—into the public hustings—among all other public questions, he must expect it to be fearlessly and freely discussed as any other public question. If he desires to keep his religious belief an entirely sacred and private matter, he must confine it, where it naturally belongs, to his own home and church. He may not inject it into public questions, and expect others to hold aloof from its discussion. It will and should become a just subject for public debate.

Holy Writ, which is intended to be a guide to Man's faith and practice, and the precepts of Nature revealed through a philosophical study of the universe, constitute the only sources of man's spiritual inspiration, and to these he must tenaciously cling. No man or system has any right to intervene in his sacred reflections, but must leave him to his own meditations. Only encouragement may be offered him in his great search for truth. He alone must find it. Hence, the efforts of ecclesiastical systems to control the policies of the State, with a view to the ultimate dictation of the religious belief of the citizen, is unwise, unjust, and unethical, and, in the very nature of things, contrary to the mandates of Divine Government.

It is the great and important function of the Church to assist the citizen in his study of Holy Writ, in order that thereby he may come into a deeper appreciation of the great underlying truth of human life and, in consequence, quicken and strengthen his conscience in his personal and public life. Under no circumstances, should it attempt to impose its dictum. It may

run counter to his own convictions; and these alone must direct his life.

The citizen of the democracy has a right to religious liberty. It is the duty of the government to energetically oppose all such attacks upon the citizen's religious liberty and to secure to him perfect freedom of worship, so long as such worship does not contravene the established and universally recognized principles of ethical intuition and thus tend to subvert the public tone and welfare. It should resent with undisguised severity any effort of ecclesiasticism to interfere in the affairs of the people with a view to demanding their first allegiance to the Church rather than to the State. It should unequivocally repulse such action as unjust, meddlesome, and malicious, since it strikes at the very foundation of the citizen's inborn rights and liberties. To these baneful tendencies, when they unfortunately arise in the course of national life, the wise and dutiful citizen cannot be indifferent without nullifying the importance of his franchise.

PUBLIC REVENUES

The expense incidental to collective life can only be met through a system of equitable taxation, direct or indirect. No other just and fair method is at the government's disposal. As direct taxation comes more immediately under the public notice and is therefore more likely to be unpopular, great caution should be exercised in its imposition and collection. It should be based upon a just and equable assessment fixed with due regard to all interests concerned, and honestly and promptly collected. Partiality in the assessment and collection of taxes begets popular discontent and finally leads to a rebellious spirit. All interests, great and small, secular and ecclesiastical, should be compelled to bear their due share of the public expense. No industry, except the publicly owned utility, should be exempt from a fair system of taxation. To tax one industry or interest and exempt another is to unfairly distribute the burdens of State, and enables one interest to accumulate wealth at the expense of another. The same rigorous rule of justice should apply in all cases, as impartially to ecclesiastical as to secular interests. Reference is here made not to the immediate church property, but to its collateral possessions, which in many instances are large profit yielders. Ecclesiasticism cannot, with fairness to itself, claim exemption from an equitable taxation. It thus imposes more onerous burdens upon less favored interests, those, too, perhaps, least able to bear them. Such claims are clearly unjust and out of harmony with the Divine Law. There can be no saving charity in increasing the burdens of others, in order to lighten one's own; and such an effort is especially reprehensible in ecclesiastical institutions whose chief aspirations are expected to be the easing or lifting of the cares and obstacles from the pathway of man as he struggles onward toward his ultimate redemption.

The same may be said regarding the properties of fraternal organizations. Why should these possessions be exempt from their due share of the public burdens? Are not these properties, like church properties, the possessions of certain groups of citi-

zens, who own them for their peculiar advantage? These particular properties are those of special social or philosophic cults or religious beliefs and cannot be regarded as public utilities in the strict sense of the term; and as they are not public utilities they should be made to share in the public expense. To exempt these various properties, which are intended to serve primarily group interests, savors of class legislation, and must eventually give way to a more just system of regulation.

Further, the accumulation of such vast wealth by ecclesiastical and fraternal organizations must eventually corrupt these institutions and lead to their final defilement and dissolution. It is impossible that the masses of impoverished mankind will indefinitely bear with patience these infractions of justice. A time will arrive when they will lose confidence in the altruistic pretensions of these institutions and change their character entirely. These facts must be taken in their full significance.

A benevolent and impartial government, then, will demand that every interest, secular, ecclesiastical and fraternal, shall bear its proper proportion of the nation's burden and support, and that all property shall bear its part of the public expense according to its valuation, honestly and impartially assessed.

Then, there is another interest that must not be overlooked in this connection. Reference is had to the custom in some sections of exempting from taxation for a term of years a new industry, presumably to encourage its growth and development. But this is a practice of doubtful character, since it is a question whether an industry, which is unable to pay for the protection of government, is entitled to live. In the young days of a people, when they are struggling to establish themselves among the world's commonwealths and to make themselves self-sufficient, such practice may be excusable; but when they have assumed a conspicuous place among the world's powers, such practice becomes the rankest class legislation. Every interest, corporate and individual, must rely for its prosperous life upon its own merits and not upon bonuses for support.

Again, every citizen, rich and poor, should be compelled to contribute to the public expense. This must be evident on reflection. In the first place, it makes of him a better citizen

by forcing him to recognize his proper responsibilities. Every voter, having the power to impose the burden of taxation upon his neighbor, should be willing to bear his proportion of this burden, since he shares in the benefaction arising from it. This contribution should take the form of an ample poll tax and a proportionate vocational, income, and property tax, except in the case of the married woman who shares this burden with her husband.

The system of taxation now in vogue is unjust in the extreme. The property holder, especially the small property holder, is compelled to bear by far the heaviest burden, while the non-property holder escapes free, often refusing to pay even a poll tax. Wherein does the property holder receive more of the blessings and protection of government than the non-property holder except in the matter of the protection of property, which expense is largely borne by the license he is compelled to pay to conduct his business? Every other benefaction of government than this property protection is shared equally by all citizens, whether property holders or not. It is clearly unfair and unjust and, indeed, repressive to rightful effort, to force the frugal citizen, who by painful economy has accumulated a modest home and competence, to bear the chief burden of the State's maintenance. Reference is not made here to colossal fortunes, which are ever unwise and often injurious, and which should be heavily taxed to keep them within safe limits, but to the average possessions which under present circumstances have the chief burden to bear.

Every citizen, then, whether or not a property holder, should be compelled to bear a proportionate share of the public expense, and where this reasonable demand is refused, he should be taken into the custody of the State and compelled to work out his civic obligation. As all citizens share equally in the rights to the general blessings of government, such as protection to life and liberty, the privileges of public education, and the enjoyment of individual and community happiness and prosperity, they should be compelled to participate in the expense of maintaining the system of regulation by which these blessings are secured.

Why should an able-bodied citizen be allowed to enjoy all the beneficence of humane and advanced government unless he share in the expense of its maintenance? Is this practice conducive to manly pride, self-reliance, or patriotism, all qualities vital to the true citizenship of a nation? While all citizens enjoy the same benefits of government, why should one group be required to meet the whole expense, and another group be relieved of this responsibility? Where is the justice, charity, or wisdom here?

If every able-bodied citizen were compelled to pay a proportionate share of the government expense by a fair poll and vocational tax, and a graduated income and property tax, according to his possessions, with a view to confining these possessions within safe limits, sufficient revenues for all purpose would be realized, while the burdens of State would be fairly and equally distributed among the nation's beneficiaries. It is neither right nor just for a strong and robust citizen to impose his proper share of the public burdens upon the shoulders of his neighbors, many of whom are less able than himself to bear them. Let him claim the right in this as in every other particular to act a man's part in the nation. All that such a citizen can reasonably ask for is an opportunity to prove his worth, and not an insipid favoritism through which he is enabled to escape his just civic responsibilities.

It thus becomes a necessity that some more equable system of taxation be established whereby every citizen shall be required to recognize his financial responsibility to the State. Such a system would not only afford more revenues for a broader and more efficient conduct of public affairs, but would intensify patriotism and interest in the general welfare, now sadly declining

Again, a tariff on imports affecting the daily necessities of the people is an exceeding doubtful procedure in a well developed country. A temporary measure to meet an emergency, or a tariff to protect the infant industries of a young country when struggling for a respectable place among the great nations of the world, may be excusable and even necessary and justifiable, but when the emergency has passed, or when the infant

industries have grown into mighty giants, such a law is a mere subterfuge for legalizing the exploitation of the people. In no case should such a tariff yield returns greater than the difference between the cost of labor and the raw materials entering into the production of the foreign and domestic article.

The citizen should not be unduly taxed to pay dividends on over-capitalized stocks of badly managed corporations.

HOMES FOR THE AGED POOR

Providence is one of the rarest of human virtues; and it is the exception rather than the rule for the average citizen to provide for old age requirements. He is too engrossed in meeting the wants of daily life to think of a distant old age—and yet he lives a useful life. He has done his part in the civilization of the day, and the world and mankind are the better for his efforts. But when at last an inexorable old age overtakes him, he is, under present conditions, compelled to face the extremities of poverty and neglect, and too often dies in need of the simplest wants of daily life. It does not relieve the dilemma of the government to affirm he was compensated for his labor; for material recompense can never fully satisfy the just claims of human brain and brawn—of human life, in reality—expended in the varied processes of modern civilization. He has spent his life, consciously or unconsciously, in the effort to make his nation greater and better, and received in return only a mere pittance upon which himself and family have barely subsisted. When the time comes, in the natural course of things, when this citizen must lay his burden down—when old age has destroyed his usefulness—it is the duty of the government to provide for him and his aged dependent a comfortable home or a pension equal to the expense of his upkeep in such a home. It should be left to his discretion as to whether he will enter the home or accept the pension.

Nor is the government to be held altogether guiltless in this citizen's poverty; for it may have failed to properly protect him from the rapacity of his more aggressive fellow citizen or to have otherwise assisted him in making the necessary preparation for his decadent years. By certain class legislation, it may have permitted the more fortunate citizen to reduce the salary or wages earned by his less fortunate fellow and, simultaneously with this reduction, to raise the cost of living, until the honest but dependent citizen has been legally robbed of all the comforts and many of the necessities of life, to which he is most justly entitled. The government has thus been *particeps criminis*

in the privation of its worthy citizen, and is bound by every demand of fairness to make amends by providing for his indigent senility.

All such homes should be constructed with a view to accommodating both sexes; for none can deny that woman has taken her place nobly by the side of man in the upbuilding of modern civilization. She, therefore, deserves every consideration he merits, and nothing should be left undone to adapt her department in such a home to every feminine requirement.

These institutions should be made as comfortable and happy as the circumstances will permit; and to this end, they should all have industrial departments attached where simple employment may be provided for those of the inmates desiring it, and corresponding compensation offered, so that small amounts of currency may be earned to secure those many little daily requirements so needful to real comfort. The industrial employment should not be compulsory, but left entirely at the option of the inmate. Not all like to work, while many cannot be content without it. These homes should meet the needs of all. Plain and suitable daily comforts should be provided and competent medical service afforded. Proper religious services should be secured, and all sects be allowed to officiate on equal terms. No favoritism should be extended one sect over another, as such practice would adversely affect the well-being and happiness of these institutions and defeat in large measure the purpose of their establishment.

The simple products created by the industry of these homes could be marketed, where possible, to reduce the expense to the State of their maintenance.

Some such system of caring for the senile indigent would rob approaching old age of much of its anxiety, and conduce greatly to the amelioration of the closing scenes of a useful life.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Agriculture forms the base of the industrial pyramid and cannot be neglected without endangering the superstructure resting upon it. Every national interest must find its ultimate success in a prosperous agriculture. Hence every effort of the government should be directed toward building up and maintaining this fundamental industry. Every advanced government should have an agricultural department located at the capital whose head should occupy a seat in the presidential cabinet, and whose duty it should be to look after the interests of the farm in the various sections of the country. This department should be the center of a system of agricultural experimental stations in the various farming districts of the nation, whose duty should be not only to ascertain by expert experimentation what products are best adapted to and most profitably grown in that particular region, but also to furnish regular weather reports for the safe-guarding of farming interests, and to directly instruct the farmers of the region in the best methods of cultivation. This governmental agent should be a man of scientific and practical experience in his field of labor. The usual custom of filling public offices with inexperienced and often incompetent men will entail disastrous consequences in this practical industry. This pernicious custom cannot prove advantageous in any public office, however insignificant it may appear to be, but must be fatal here. How unfortunate to a people when, through political favoritism, incompetent officers are placed in the control and management of their public affairs!

Attached to these institutions should be competent banking facilities for effecting farm loans at the lowest rates of interest and on the best terms of payment. It should be the duty of these financial agents to secure the most accurate data possible regarding the farm lands in their respective districts, in order that the government may effect the necessary relief without being imposed upon. For the government to make farm loans without ample knowledge of the security offered would be to promptly secure its victimization.

The farming regions of the nation should be divided into districts according to the scientific judgment of the best obtainable authority, and each district thoroughly organized along the lines above suggested, so that prompt information or assistance may always be at hand.

Moreover, the government should undertake suitable highway building throughout the country, and establish an effective rural freight and express service. Everything should be done by way of developing the educational, postal, telegraph, telephone, highway, and freight and express facilities to bring rural life at least to an approximate equality with city life in these several modern conveniences.

When, under these stimulating advantages, rural life is made more pleasant and comfortable, the exodus from the farm to the city will be checked if not reversed. Agriculture will then become scientific and profitable, and rural prosperity will quicken and vivify all other interests and industries.

THE PROHIBITION OF UNLAWFUL COMBINES

To legislate to obstruct or to hinder the normal operation of the natural laws of trade, so that one group of citizens may accumulate wealth at the unjust expense of another, is the most ruinous class legislation and must sooner or later be attended by disaster to the general prosperity. Since government is the natural sequence of the social organization of man, it follows it must accommodate itself to all the natural laws flowing from that organization. One of these is free competition in industrial life—freedom to produce and sell where possible market is available, even at the cost of the neighbor's success—freedom from the slavery of industrial combinations which undertake to coerce all minor concerns in the same line of business, in order to exploit and impoverish the people—freedom to buy and sell when interests demand, without the necessity of begging the permission of the trust master.

To frustrate all attempts of the citizen or group of citizens at selfish aggrandizement, the government should rigorously penalize all combines, trusts or pools, creating an iniquitous monopoly in any particular industry with a view to controlling the selling price of the commodity or of the price of labor entering into the cost thereof, and should in all cases maintain a healthy operation of the natural law of supply and demand. It does not comply with the demands of reason to aver such law is antiquated or out of date, since such an accusation cannot be hurled against a law of nature, whether that law operates in the physical, mental or spiritual world.

REGULATION OF CAPITAL

Capital is essential to the material growth of the nation. It is one of the great factors concerned in the development of the nation's material resources. It should, therefore, not be regarded in the light of an enemy to the public weal. It is one of the nation's greatest blessings; but, like every other potent agency, it may be beneficial or injurious to the nation's welfare according to whether or not it is properly controlled. Vast accumulations of unregulated capital too often, by vicious combinations and the selfish control of legislation, become a menace to popular liberty and the impartial administration of public affairs. If left to its own caprice, it often corrupts the public official and distorts public justice to ulterior and selfish ends. It should be the concern of government to prevent such dangerous aggregations of the nation's wealth in the hands of the few, and to effect a more equable distribution of the nation's comforts among the people. Not only do these vast aggregations of capital by groups of citizens impoverish the masses of the people by denying to them what properly belongs to them, but they corrupt, through enervating luxury, the capitalists themselves. These unfortunates, for such they are in the light of truth, lured on in the pursuit of happiness by their vast wealth from the satisfaction of one appetite to another, are generally led into a life of dissipated luxury fatal alike to exalted character and human sympathy.

Further, they establish an example of extravagant life, which finds its way ultimately into the daily life of the people, and the whole nation then becomes luxurious and extravagant and degenerates into a careless, time-serving and pleasure-loving community in whom all the higher sentiments are ignored. The nation is then led from the simple, plain and noble life, so essential to a healthy national growth and prosperity, into one of excess and final dissolution.

"Till fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

It must, then, be one of the chief duties of government to prevent these dangerous accumulations of wealth, both in the interest of the citizen and the public at large. To this end, the government should fix the limit of healthful and ample fortunes and prohibit their combinations to destroy the operation of the natural laws of trade in the effort to control the price of labor or materials required in the various enterprises, and should extend its just and benevolent regulative action and supervision over all combinations of capital having for their object the proper development of the nation's resources.

In restricting fortunes within the safe limit, ascertained by proper and painstaking investigation, the government must have recourse to taxation—the only reasonable method at its disposal. A graduated income tax could be levied and so adjusted that all fortunes above the legal limit would be absorbed by the government and applied in the construction of public utilities, public improvements, old age pensions, insurance, etc. In this manner the industrial genius of the citizen could be turned to the advantage of the general welfare by enabling the government to provide employment for the idle in the building and thorough equipment of the public utilities and other improvements required by the comfort of the people; and to prevent the discouragement of normal individual aspiration and zeal, the government could create a graded honor list for those citizens who have best served the State in this capacity. Such an honor list would become a part of the national archives and redound to the historical advantage of the citizen and his posterity. This would afford ample incentive to the patriotic citizen to continue his exertions along his chosen line of employment. Men must labor to be happy and what better can they do after providing for their own ample welfare than to serve their nation and be thenceforth enrolled among the benefactors of their countrymen?

But this desideratum presupposes the proper education of the citizenry in all that appertains to a citizen's love of country. A system of public education which develops the selfish nature of the citizen and teaches him that his chief aim in life should be to consider under all circumstances his own selfish purposes, can never incline him to national altruism, nor

enable him to appreciate such an attitude in others. But under a system of broad and liberal education of both head and heart all these reforms or evolutions of government are possible to a people who desire them.

REGULATION OF LABOR

Hostile relationship between capital and labor cannot be a matter of indifference to the nation. These differences touch the heart of the nation and can only be composed through just and impartial legislation courageously and fearlessly enforced. It is illogical to permit two classes or groups of citizenship to disrupt the peace and harmony of the entire nation. Every class or group must be subservient to law. The reverse ushers in the reign of destructive anarchy. The subject must be fairly and justly studied and considered in all its bearings, especially as it concerns the welfare of the nation as a whole. The nation, therefore, and not its political subdivision, should rule in this matter.

In creating remedial legislation, it will be necessary first to place both interests on the same legal basis. To do this, a national corporation law should be passed for individualizing all organizations of an industrial character, to which all capitalist and labor combinations should be made equally subservient. In this manner, the various bodies of these great interests would be constituted legalized individuals, capable of suing and being sued. With these two interests converted into corporate individuals, each being legally responsible to the other in all matters pertaining to their business relations, the next legislative step could be taken by passing a compulsory arbitration law and creating an arbitration court into which the differences of the corporate individuals could be brought and adjudicated. In this court the various industrial causes could be tried on the same principles and in the same manner as those arising in the usual course of daily life.

And since the subject of wages has always been the chief bone of contention between capital and labor, the subject, in any case arising, should be thoroughly and honestly investigated and judgment rendered accordingly. To make the investigation fair and complete, the court should have power to demand the surrender of the bona fide books and records of any company in question, in order that the matter of its expense and profits may be determined. And any company imposing upon the gov-

ernment by the surrender of fictitious books or false records should be penalized in heavy fine, and its directing or controlling personnel imprisoned. No light penalty will be effective. No firm should be entitled in any case to greater profits, after all the expenses of the enterprise have been deducted, than the legal rate of interest in the state of its domicile. Nor should it be entitled to this, if the labor employed should be found to be pauperized by insufficient wages.

Likewise, the court should investigate the character of labor, the cost of living to the laborer, the cost of educating his children and maintaining his family in respectability, and his right to put aside something for the future, and fix the wages accordingly; but in no case to fix a rate which would destroy the industry in which it is employed.

To the end that the creative power of labor may be duly encouraged and protected, every nation should have an efficient Labor Department, domiciled at the capital, with its head occupying a seat in the presidential cabinet, whose duty should be to watch over and safeguard the interests of labor, in order that it may perform untrammelled its function in advancing civilization.

PROTECTION OF EMPLOYE AGAINST DANGEROUS MACHINERY

He is compelled to labor to meet the needs of himself and family, and in this labor he also faithfully serves the community at large. He is thus entitled to protection against the carelessness or indifference of the employer. All dangerous machinery, with which he is concerned, should be guarded as much as possible by life-saving devices, and when these precautions and the proper sanitary measures have been neglected, the owner of the plant should be penalized and held responsible in suitable damages. But he should not be entitled to recover such damages if he has already been compensated by industrial or accident insurance; for this would be a double compensation for the same injury, unless the first compensation is deemed inadequate.

To safeguard the interests of the employe in this regard, the government should provide industrial insurance against all occupational diseases and unavoidable injuries. When an employe has devoted much, perhaps the larger part of his life in faithful discharge of duty in any line of work, and finally succumbs to its destructive effects, he should be properly cared for during the continuance of the disability. The government should secure this protection by providing a fund for the purpose to be managed under proper insurance methods ordained by national law. Such industrial insurance should not be left to the capricious administration of private industries, but should be under the direct control of the government, to whose assistance both the employe and employer should contribute, since both must be in a measure responsible.

GOVERNMENT SHOULD FIX THE HOURS OF LABOR

This important matter should not be left to the selfish discretion of the employer, who too often takes advantage of the necessities of his less fortunate fellow citizen to exact of him long and tedious hours of destructive toil, thus depriving him of the opportunity for recreation, rest and self-improvement. That governmental system is woefully lacking in wisdom and beneficence which permits the employe to be ground between the upper and nether millstones of avarice and necessity. It is truly a cowardly failure of government to allow one industrial factor to destroy another. It is its duty to be partial to none but to protect all; and when this just attitude is disregarded, government has neglected one of its most important functions and justly deserves the execration of the citizen.

The foregoing remarks are even more urgently applicable to child labor. To legalize the destruction of the youth of the nation in the sweat-shop and factory is to sacrifice helpless innocence upon the altar of capitalistic greed. Long hours of unremitting toil in unsanitary industrial buildings, in many instances on scant food supply, will steadily undermine the health and vigor of the prospective citizen, and eventually fill the nation with degenerates and criminals. No child can grow to normal and useful maturity who is deprived of a sufficiency of good and wholesome food, pure air, sunlight, and recreation, but must become in the end a morose and unhappy malcontent, ready at the slightest provocation to launch into desperate criminal undertakings. Thus must the nation sicken and die through the agency of governmental infidelity and neglect.

The violation of the natural laws of child-life can but be followed by ruinous consequences to the State. No nation can neglect the interests of its little ones without imperiling its future. They are the only guarantees of the nation's continued existence.

THE CIRCULATING MEDIUM

One of the great functions of government is the provision of an adequate measure of value and medium of exchange. This should be free from undue contraction and expansion, created and developed under government supervision, and safe-guarded from the dictates of private interests. Such a circulating medium is what is known as money. Money is thus a medium of exchange and a measure and standard of value; and under present conditions consists of the two precious metals, gold and silver, with nickel and copper as subsidiary metals. These two metals have been selected as money materials, because they more fully meet all the present requirements of a safe circulating medium. The requisites of such materials are a fixed intrinsic value, portability, homogeneity, durability, divisibility, and recognizability. In addition to the metallic currency, there is the representative money in the form of bank and government notes. This is, strictly speaking, only credit currency, as it is redeemable in gold and silver. Moreover, there is another form of credit expediency in the form of checks, drafts, bills of exchange, etc., which in normal times serve, in a limited degree, as a medium of exchange. These, however, are not classed as money, but only act in its stead in normal conditions of trade.

When the circulating medium consists exclusively of the precious metals above mentioned, there is great temptation to hoard and thus draw them from circulation. To this extent, money fails in its function and becomes a plain commodity. It must keep in action as a standard and measure of value to serve as money. But this withdrawal creates a corresponding scarcity of money, thus enhancing the purchasing power of the remaining units left in circulation. This in time means dear money, high rates of interest, and low prices for commodities.

Moreover, the quantity of metallic currency must depend primarily upon the quantity of the metals mined. But this is exceedingly uncertain, hence the value of the metals must fluctuate under the law of supply and demand. Then, again, their value depends upon the amounts of these metals required

in the arts. This demand also fluctuates and still further renders unstable the value of these metals. It must be confessed, then, when due consideration is accorded these facts, that gold and silver are not perfectly adapted as money metals, but they must be acknowledged to be the best materials at present available. When to their intrinsic value the fiat of the government is added, thus bestowing upon them also a money value, their value as a medium of exchange becomes much more stable and fixed.

In view of the foregoing facts, it is clear that government should maintain absolute control over the creation and distribution of the circulating medium; and all credit expedencies, performing the function of money, should be under the supervision of the central authority. These beneficent agencies and national exigencies should not be left to the caprice of private interest. When the gold and silver currency of the State is in control of private enterprise, the temptation is very great to speculate in the circulating medium by contracting or expanding it to a dangerous degree, and, by such a policy of alternately contracting and expanding the currency, to correspondingly increase and decrease its purchasing power with a view of gradually concentrating the wealth of the nation in the hands of the few, and thus convert a liberal Democracy into a tyrannous oligarchic Plutocracy. Such a result need not be the purpose of the speculator, but must follow as a consequence of such practice, whether he wills it or not.

THE PROHIBITION OF VAGRANCY AND LOITERING

Government should enact rigorous vagrancy laws and impartially enforce them. When an able-bodied citizen, unless retired on sufficient competence, refuses to contribute his energy to the general welfare, to labor in some particular field of usefulness adapted to his talent and choice, thereby providing for the interests of himself and family and contributing to the progress of the community, the government should take possession of him and force him to do his share of the nation's labor. He should be paid the same wage earned by like labor elsewhere, and after the expense of his upkeep has been deducted, this wage should be paid by the government to those depending upon him, or turned over to him, on his release. And this punishment should be inflicted as often and as long as he refuses to perform the part of a useful and self-sustaining citizen. In this way only may society be protected against the imposition and injustice of the human drone.

Every citizen who refuses to contribute to the productiveness of the community becomes a burden upon his fellow citizens. He must be clothed and fed, and if he does not earn these necessities by his own labor, they must be earned by the labor of others. It is needless to say this is an unjust burden upon those who have to bear it. If such a citizen does not possess sufficient pride of character to lead him to the performance of a freeman's part in the community, he should be forced to recognize his responsibility.

The government should compel every citizen of family to provide the necessities of life for that family. To assume the responsibility of a family and then neglect it by failing to provide even the common necessities of every-day life, should be rigorously punished by law. To say that the wives and children of such citizens are not charges of the State and, therefore, of no concern to the State is to declare a palpable falsehood. The home is the foundation of the civilized State, and the wives and children its chief hope. To permit the head of the family to

wilfully neglect to provide for his offspring is to fail in one of the most important functions of an intelligent State. When the head of the family has made every effort to support his wife and offspring, but, through misfortune or sickness, has failed to do so, the government should assist to the extent of finding useful employment for him whereby he may perform the duty of an honorable citizen, and, in case of his sickness, it should provide a suitable pension until he shall become self-supporting, when he is to return the assistance advanced. But when he wilfully neglects to perform his duty in this regard, he should be taken possession of by the State and set to suitable work, the usual wage for such labor, after deducting the expense of his upkeep, being paid by the State to his family. And this punishment should be inflicted until the neglectful citizen shall learn the lesson of industry and frugality, and appreciate the due responsibility of parenthood. And when such a citizen seeks to escape such responsibility in flight, he should be pursued, captured and made to serve an additional time, under the direction of the State. Such citizen should not be permitted to deprive their dependents of the necessary comforts of daily life.

GENERAL CLASS REGULATION

There must, of necessity, be a plurality of classes in every nation. The varying intelligence of the people, the different races comprising the citizenry, social preferences, different habits of the people, and the varying degrees of wealth, inherited or acquired, create certain classes or groups of the population, who have the right to expect the encouragement and protection of a benevolent government. The word is here used not in the sense of caste, a group of citizens, upon whom long usage and custom have conferred certain privileges not enjoyed by the other groups, but in the sense of a natural cleavage taking place in any body of freemen. Moreover, reference is intended to the constructive elements of our population only.

This natural grouping of citizens does not imply inherent superiority of one over another, but rather springs from the right of the freeman to select his own companions, either from among those of his own occupation, or from considerations of spontaneous congeniality. If the importance of a class depends upon its essentiality in our civilization, it follows that one class is as valuable as another in the constructive needs of our times. One class may possess more culture or skill than another, but this has nothing to do with essentiality. Each performs an essential part in our civilization, and cannot be dispensed with without injury to the whole system of collective life.

Thus, the classes in the democracy are not arranged with respect to any particular quality of constituency, but rather with regard to the nature of the service rendered and the social preferences of the freeman.

The prosperity and well-being of the classes, which, after all, comprise the citizenry of the democracy, should be the constant concern of government. Hence all contemplated legislation should have reference to its effects upon all classes, impartially considered. There is no more repressive influence in a democracy to individual aspiration and development than what is known as class legislation. It breeds suspicion and contempt for

constructive statesmanship, and finally inspires a rebellious spirit. The fiat of the government whereby one class of citizens is empowered to nullify the natural law of supply and demand and, by thus enhancing the necessities of life, to rob their fellow citizens of the benefits of a natural competition, is a rank injustice and smacks of administrative tyranny. Under a beneficent government, where the principles of democracy are earnestly enforced, all such pernicious activity is prohibited, and all natural laws of trade are protected, to the end that all classes of the citizenship may pursue, without artificial restraint, their natural course of development.

Nor should one class be legally closed to another. It is one of the duties of democracy to open the way to promotion to every worthy and aspiring citizen, and to encourage him in every rational manner in his laudable ambition. It is an inherent right of the citizen, of whatever class, to be permitted to advance to higher stages of usefulness, whenever he shall prove himself worthy of such advancement. But such privilege must not be construed as giving him the right to interfere with his neighbor's social preference or with his right to preserve the purity of his race. These are inherent, sacred, and inalienable privileges of the individual under whatever form of government he may live, and may not be trammelled without destroying the fundamental principles of orderly government.

Moreover, every class must be made to recognize its relations to every other. It cannot evade its responsibilities to the community at large. No class can afford to pursue a wholly selfish course. It must not look to itself alone. It must appreciate its special function in the welfare of the community and prevailing civilization. It must know that should every class look to its interests alone, irretrievable ruin must finally overtake all. The classes in our democracy are so indissolubly bound together by common interest that one cannot suffer without all the others sharing in the distress. Each class must, therefore, feel its vital relations to, and necessary dependency upon, every other; that only the harmonious co-operation of all classes can secure the prosperity and permanence of the nation; that, in truth, in this manner only may we have a nation at all.

The two most important classes of our population are those represented by capital and labor. These are the two great factors concerned in the production of the nation's wealth. Nothing but the air and sunlight is free to man. Everything else must be brought to him by his own labor or that of others. Every created necessity of man has been produced by the union of capital and labor. It must be clear, then, to the rational mind that these two factors of man's happiness and comfort should be thoroughly regulated by a benevolent government. The interest of both finds its chief support in a mutual understanding and accord. These two great factors of the world's wealth are thus mutually dependent and should co-operate harmoniously in their respective fields of usefulness. What could capital accomplish without labor, or labor without capital? Ties of closest amity should unite them in their service to the world. Any unfriendly tendencies arising between them should be thoroughly and honestly investigated with a view to correction before dangerous obstacles to their peaceful relations arise. Government falls far short of its full duty to the nation when it views with indifference the rise of hostile sentiments between these two essential factors, and proclaims its imbecility or cowardice when it refuses to exercise the authority vested in the sovereign State to control and regulate these forces, and to compel them to compose their differences in the interest of themselves and the nation at large. Hostile clashes between capital and labor must become a proper subject for governmental adjudication. The disturbance of the natural relations existing between employer and employe does not concern these two beneficent forces of civilization alone, but affects the whole nation and subsequently the whole world. In all such disorders, the wise and benevolent government will act with judicious courage to bring about a just and impartial settlement of the trouble in the interest of all affected.

Capital and labor must approach each other in the spirit of justice and forbearance. For capital to pauperize labor is to destroy its constant and inseparable companion. For labor to destroy the industry by forcing it to pay ruinous wages is to destroy its only hope—to murder its best friend. But reason-

ably and dispassionately considered, labor is entitled to more of the proceeds of industry than capital. Capital is only the dead instrument in the hands of vital, creative energy. It is the product of past labor. By itself, it is as dead and useless as the carpenter's hammer on the ground beside him. The hammer, useful as it is, will never of itself drive the nail. It must be impelled by the brain and brawn of man, to fulfill its true functions. So it is with capital. Of itself, it can never create one dollar of wealth. It must be employed and directed by the vital energy of the brain and brawn of man before it can enter into the creation of the nation's wealth. It is just and right, then, to conclude that after the varied expenses of the busy industry have been deducted, capital should be satisfied with a reasonable interest, and all the rest of the profits should go to the vital energy which created them. This contention appears to be indubitable. In this way, each factor of wealth would receive its proper share of the profits of industry, and mutual harmony be encouraged and perfected.

It would, therefore, seem proper where one class of citizens sees fit to combine or organize themselves into a body for a special industrial purpose, that the government should provide the laws under which that organization is to be effected and operated, since its operations must effect, directly or indirectly, the welfare of all the other classes. And when one class conflicts with another class, the government, through properly constituted and organized courts of arbitration, should use its Constitutional authority to reconcile them, in order that the general welfare may not be impaired or retarded. It should promptly repress class agitation as unwise and iniquitous. The maintenance of class interests by all legitimate means is essential to progress, but any attempt, claiming the right under the pretext of freedom of speech or freedom of press, to create hostile feelings among the classes of our population cannot be friendly either to the classes or to the nation, and should be vigorously suppressed. As well may we expect concord in the family, while allowing the cunning trouble-maker free rein in the household.

But government must regulate and control the classes. To intimate that a sovereign State has no power to intervene in

class conflicts is to confess its imbecility and failure. Every question which may arise among the classes of the population comes within the purview of the authority and function of a benevolent and potent State, and should be settled by it in accordance with the demands of strict and impartial justice. If the government has the right to compose differences between individual citizens, it has the right to reconcile differences arising between corporate individuals of the community. There is no difference in the principle but only in the application of the principle. Under present forms of governmental administration, it is proposed to apply the principle to the individual citizen, but not to the corporate or collective citizen. Herein lies the error, injustice, and danger of those economic systems which, for any reason, ignore the principle of an active and determining arbitration.

If the State has the right to use its compulsory power to settle differences between individual citizens, it unquestionably has the right to use the same authority in settling differences between corporate or collective citizens. In no other manner may the abuse of power be prevented, and the community be properly safe-guarded against the unjust, grievous, and ruinous results of class conflicts.

Thus, one of the most important duties of government is to bring about through broad and liberal education and wise legislation a recognition of the mutual dependence and inseparable interests of the two principal forces of civilization, and of the responsible relations of all classes in the life of the nation.

CONSERVATION OF NATIONAL RESOURCES

The waste of natural resources in America has reached appalling proportions. When shall we learn the lessons of economy? All mineral deposits, forests and water-powers belong to the people and should not be permitted to become the property of an individual or group of individuals, whether they be citizens or aliens. All mineral deposits such as gold, silver, copper, nickel, iron, oil, gas, coal, and many others, including stone, granite, and marble quarries, should belong to all the people, as they alone are most vitally affected by the supply and demand of these substances. Such products of the mine should be protected from monopolistic control, nor should any individual or company own and operate them to private advantage. They are too intimately connected with the happiness and destiny of the masses of the people to be diverted to private interests.

The same is true of the forests. From these are derived much of the building materials entering into the construction of the homes of the people. To permit an individual citizen or group of citizens to buy the forests of the nation, which are its natural products, and thereby to control the prices of building material, is to place a damper upon home construction and to depress the natural and laudable ambition of the citizen to possess his own domicile. The government should own and conserve the forests in the interest of all the people, and should pursue a policy of restoring them when depleted, and this not only to provide building material, but also because of its beneficial effects upon the rainfall of the country. A nation cannot destroy its forests without adversely affecting its climate and agricultural prosperity. Deforestation should be neutralized by reforestation.

Furthermore, all water-power should be owned by the State. It is but natural to understand that a time will ultimately arrive in the life of the world when the oil, gas and coal supplies will become exhausted or very greatly diminished—when they

will cease to be cheap fuel, for they are limited in quantity, in the very nature of the case. Steam will then decline as a motive power, and the nation will be compelled to depend largely upon electricity. But without coal, gas or oil the generation of this motive power will have to depend upon the wind and water. The wind and direct rays of the sun will for a long time be too uncertain for the successful operation of private plants and public utilities. Water-power will, therefore, afford the only safe and certain force for the operation of these enterprises. How important, then, that this power should be jealously guarded against private aggression. Government should proceed without delay to conserve and even appropriate all water-power in the nation, to the end that this energy may be saved for the future needs of the people.

ABOLITION OF THE CROP-LIEN SYSTEM

No more paralyzing power could be laid upon the progress of scientific agriculture than the system, in vogue in many quarters, of mortgaging the crop before it is harvested, in many instances even before it is planted. Such a system imposes a deadening damper upon the energies of the farmer, as he sees in it no hope of future gain. He practically sells his crop, before it is grown, to the mortgagee for the scant necessities of simple daily life, and is thus compelled to pay his creditors the prices they demand for these necessities. Not only is this true, but the mortgagee often dictates the character of the crops to be grown, on penalty of withholding credit. The agriculturist is thus reduced to a kind of serfdom, destructive alike of his independence and progress. The farmer should be able to operate on a cash basis, to the end that he may enjoy the liberty and right of selling his crops where he can obtain a fair and reasonable price.

Government should prohibit, under proper penalization, such an enslaving system, since it must ultimately prove baneful to all interests concerned, and protect the farmer against the impositions of his more prosperous neighbor. Fortunately, this unethical practice does not obtain as frequently as formerly, but this is not due to the increasing altruism of the farmer's creditor, but rather to the farmer's energy and determination to be free. Hence government should insure its permanent discontinuance. It should concern itself to bring about a more comprehensive conception on the part of both merchant and farmer of their mutual relations and interests, and encourage them to co-operate to the progressive advantage of themselves and the country at large.

THE NATIONALIZATION OF PUBLIC UTILITIES

It is the duty of an efficient government to own and operate all such public utilities as the Postal, Telegraph, Telephone Service, and Wireless and Aviation Stations, Railways, Highways and Navigable Rivers, and all appurtenances thereto, in order that the citizen and nation may derive therefrom the fullest benefit at the least expense and inconvenience. The State should facilitate social, industrial, economic and commercial intercourse among its citizens, and, to this end, should see that the machinery designed for these purposes is free from private and selfish control. Not only does the social, industrial, political and commercial advancement of the citizens and State depend upon the efficiency of these services, but the very preservation of the nation itself is vitally affected. Not all citizens are patriots. It is not what they should be but what they really are that weighs in the balance of international warfare. To permit these public services to remain in the possession and control of private interests of uncertain character is, therefore, to invite national disaster. To allow these utilities to remain in the ownership of private companies, composed in many instances largely of aliens, and to trust their efficient operation in time of national peril to disinterested or even inimical influences, is the climax of governmental folly. Nor is it much wiser for the government, though it may be a necessity, in time of need, to take over these privately owned utilities and attempt to operate them with any degree of success. Lack of experience in such ventures would compel the government to accept the practical organization of the companies along with the employes and, in such circumstances, the dilemma is not removed, but the same danger exists as in the case of private control; for it must be evident that many of the employes, especially those of foreign sympathies, looking to their future welfare and employment, will remain under the invisible government of their former employers. It thus becomes an easy matter, where opposition to nationalization of these utilities exists, to prove failure of governmental

operation; though in the recent experiment along these lines in our country, it is estimated on good authority that the railroads under private control, following the governmental operation, cost the people during a period of six months six hundred and thirty-four millions of dollars, while the same utilities under governmental control, during a period of two years and two months, cost the people only nine hundred and twenty millions of dollars, a rather poor showing for the economy of private ownership and operation.

Nationalization of these utilities thus becomes a necessity and duty, and beyond the primary outlay would inflict no expense upon the State, but, on the contrary, under proper management, would become generous sources of revenue.

To leave its citizenry at the mercy of the rapacity of domestic or foreign transportation companies is no part of the duty of a benevolent State. Such agencies, left to their own inclination, will unduly enhance the expense of transportation, which will be promptly added to the cost of living and thus unjustly increase the burdens of the people. Moreover, the same disadvantage to the State, in time of urgent necessity, will result from privately owned transportation facilities as from privately owned communication facilities. To remove these dangers to the State and injustice to the people, government ownership and operation of all railroad, river and ocean transportation facilities, concerned in the carrying trade of the nation, becomes an ultimate necessity. This will require government dredging and, when necessary, dyking and quaying of navigable rivers and ocean harbors, utilized in the nation's domestic and foreign commerce.

Every navigable, or potentially navigable river, thus becomes at once an asset and a liability of the government. It is a governmental asset, because it is one of the nation's arteries of commerce to be used by the citizen in traveling from one part of the country to another, and to transport from one point to another in the nation those commodities he requires in his daily life. It is also an asset, because it belongs to the nation and is a source of revenue. It is a liability, because it is clearly the government's duty to improve it and develop its usefulness. It

is also a liability, because it is the government's duty to protect the citizen living along the banks, or residing on its alluvial or flood-plain, against the destructive effects of high water. It must be evident to the reflective mind that inasmuch as the government claims ownership and control of the great navigable rivers, it is duty bound to keep them within their banks and to protect the riparian citizen from the disastrous effects of periodical overflows. To encourage the industrious citizen to reside on the flood-plain of the river, and to tax him for the State's support, and lead him to expect profitable returns on his labor through the protection of a benevolent government, and then to abandon him to the mercy of the destroying flood, which it was the plain duty of the State to prevent, is one of the most obvious and remarkable instances of governmental neglect or imbecility that can possibly be imagined. Indeed, such a condition of affairs is so unthinkable as to be actually unsusceptible of debate. A government which refuses to accept such clear responsibility to the citizen confesses its impotence or deadening impecuniosity, or descends to the level of undignified subterfuge and insincerity.

If it is the duty of the State to own and control the navigable waterways, it is likewise its duty to own the transportation devices, or floating-stock, to be operated on these waterways. It would be as reasonable to expect the government to own the railroads, and permit the rolling-stock to be owned and operated by private companies. It is illogical to divide this responsibility. It must, of necessity, lead to an embarrassing confusion.

What right has the citizen of one political division, or community, to arrogate to himself the authority to control the transportation facilities of all the other communities, and to divert these instruments for the public good to his own private profit? If he is permitted to own and control the railroad, river, and ocean transportation facilities along with the telegraph, telephone, and wireless, he might as well also become the benevolent and disinterested owner and operator of the postal service. But all these functions fall within the purview of national sovereignty and should be exercised by a wise and

beneficent State in the interest of all the people. The argument that government ownership of these utilities would strike a fatal blow at individual initiative is puerile, and is a mere subterfuge of the opponents of this policy. Government ownership and operation of the postal system has not proportionally reduced individual initiative, if we may take the audacious and dangerous aggression of the citizen in all other fields of industrial venture as an indication of the damaged remains. The argument is a mere scarebug of the opposition.

There is a sufficiently broad scope in all other departments of human industry, which naturally falls within the province, of individual endeavor, to claim the highest and most ambitious material efforts of man.

There are many advantages beyond those above mentioned and but few disadvantages resulting from nationalization of public utilities. In the case of the railroads, especially, there are many advantages in favor of public ownership. In the first place, there would be uniform passenger, freight and express rates on all lines, based upon the actual cost of transportation. If these rates were not perfectly uniform, they would be approximately so. And there is every reason for believing they would be much lower than under private ownership; for there being no stocks or bonds to absorb the incomes of the roads, these rates would be based upon the expense of construction, maintenance, and operation. Neither would there be rebates, preferentials nor discriminations. A just system of charges would be elaborated and established, which could not fail the welfare and progress of the people.

Again, there would be a uniform system of construction, maintenance and operation, under the most scientific direction obtainable, and paying salaries in proportion to the service rendered and in consideration of the cost of living in the region where the service is rendered. This system properly worked out would yield a far better and more satisfactory result at much less cost to the people.

Moreover, there could be no hostile discriminations against certain sections or municipalities because of refusal to comply with railroad extortions. Under government ownership, each

state or municipality would receive favorable and equable treatment.

Again, the road-beds and rolling-stock would be kept in better repair, and the traveling public rendered more comfortable. The day traveler would share equally with the night or long-distance traveler in all the necessary comforts of refined life. Under present conditions, the day traveler, or he who travels in the day coach of our trains, is woefully neglected in every necessary and decent comfort, notwithstanding the fact he pays the same railroad fare as the Pullman occupant. This is a gross and most tyrannical neglect and should not be tolerated. It is certain that under government ownership these disadvantages would be abolished.

Further, under nationalization the citizen, purchasing a ticket but for some reason being unable to use it on the day set for departure, would be able to use it at any future time he may elect. The ticket should be valid till used. Under present management, the traveler is frequently practically forced to agree that in case he should be unable to use the ticket on the day fixed for his departure, it is forfeited. This is clearly unjust and an abuse of power.

Again, the railroad schedule, both as to time of arrival and departure, would be more accurately carried out on all trains, and the dangers of loss by side-tracking perishable freight and express would be greatly reduced.

Again, all hostile competition with railway, river and ocean transportation, with a view to wrecking dangerous rivals, would be abandoned. For as all these utilities would belong to the people, each would be properly developed and adjusted to its own peculiar function in the carrying service of the nation. Under nationalization wisely applied, every railroad, river, the ocean, and every airplane, would be made to do service to the citizen, at the least possible expense. It has been estimated upon what appears to be perfectly credible authority that the railroads under six months of private control after their return by the government cost the people six hundred and thirty-four millions of dollars, while the same utilities under two years and two months' national control cost the people nine hundred

and twenty millions of dollars—a rather poor showing for the economy of private control.

Finally, perfect coordination of service would be attainable during war. This is a most important consideration, and may easily mean victory or defeat to the nation. Under government ownership and control, the necessary maneuvers could be carried out in times of peace, which would assure the defeat of any hostile action against us. Under private ownership, this is impossible.

There are many other reasons why these public utilities should be owned by all the people, but only one chief and valid objection to this policy—namely, the dangerous voting power of such a number of public officers. Under present procedure, this would be a real danger, but it may be easily removed by depriving the public officer of his franchise during his tenure of office. If he did not possess the right to vote and thus be able to combine his power with his associate to maintain tenure in office, wherein would there be any incentive to make the attempt? He may safely leave his interests in the community to the intelligence and honesty of his fellow citizens. He can have no possible rights or proper interests they will not protect along with their own.

It must, then, be clear that the ownership and control of all these utilities, vitally affecting the interests of the State as a whole, become a part of the function of the sovereign power and should be exercised for the benefit of all. For the private citizen to aspire to the control of such functions marks a dangerous stage in the development of individual ambition and audacity, and proclaims the arrival of the hour when the proper curb should be placed upon such abnormal aspirations.

It should be an acknowledged duty of government to dredge and quay all harbors of the nation, to the end that its coast-wise trade and foreign commerce may be encouraged and developed. But is it not also the duty of the government to own and operate its own merchant marine? To dredge and maintain its harbors and not own its vessels is equivalent to the man who builds and maintains a commodious garage for his neighbor's vehicle, making only a nominal charge for this convenience,

while paying the neighbor an exorbitant tariff for the use of the vehicle. The logical course would appear to be for the government to own both the harbors and the merchant marine, since both are equally concerned in the domestic and foreign transportation of the nation's varied commodities, and even in its defense. In this way, the vast expense of transporting domestic products to foreign markets in foreign bottoms would be saved in profits to the people, thus adding greatly to the taxable wealth of the nation, which would be available in times of emergency, and would obviate foreign steamship combinations against the nation's exporters and importers, which, in many instances, deprive national enterprise of much of its justly earned profits.

Thus the government owned merchant marine would not only safeguard the nation's commercial interests, but would greatly add to its naval power by providing a large list of fast and compactly built steamers which could be armed and commissioned as auxiliary cruisers, transports, colliers, scoutships, and commerce destroyers. The government in constructing such a merchant marine would keep constantly in view the possibility of such naval use, while the privately built merchant marine would be adapted almost exclusively to commercial purposes. This, of course, is perfectly natural and not to be condemned, since in the business world business only is considered.

Putting aside all prejudice, we must sooner or later come to realize the wisdom and necessity of the nationalization of all public utilities of an inter-state character. Notwithstanding the efforts of interested influences to decry the recent governmental operation of these utilities, and to make it appear such control was a failure, the common sense, the intelligence, of the people proclaim in candid tones the falsity of such asseverations, and promise the coming of the day when they shall acquire, through fair and just means, the instruments vitally concerned in the realization of their destiny.

It may be safely affirmed that the only reason these several utilities were not included by the founders of our democracy in public ownership along with the navigable rivers and post-roads and postal service is that they were not then in existence.

The government could not own what as yet had no actual existence. But there seems to be no limit to the thirst for acquisition of present day business. Man might today be buying his sunlight, air, and rain were not the cost of the necessary plants for cornering these life-essentials beyond the financial reach of the modern profiteer. But let us not over jubilate in the enjoyment of these few remaining free blessings, we may yet lose them.

The public ownership and operation of city, state, and interstate utilities will be the earnest political slogan of the near future.

THE ELEEMOSYNARY INSTITUTIONS

It is the duty of a humane government to establish and maintain the necessary charitable institutions, not only for the aged poor and other worthy dependents, but also for the insane, deaf, dumb, and the orphans of the community. These institutions should provide every necessary modern comfort, and should have special reference to the health of the inmates. To segregate these unfortunates, under the confessed duty of caring for them, and then to neglect their comfort and health is a disgraceful practice and justified only in semi-civilized countries. The comforts should be plain but modern in all respects and sufficient to meet all reasonable requirements.

These institutions should be conducted so as to encourage the inmate to individual achievement and development, and should endeavor to educate him with a view to bringing out and expressing all that he is capable of. It is a great error to consider these unfortunates as lost to society. Many of them possess genius of the highest order, that should be utilized to the advantage of themselves and the State. No community can afford to waste the energy or genius of its citizens. Every endeavor should be made to develop the citizen, whatever may be his apparent misfortunes, along normal lines of progress. All intelligent effort is helpful, not only to the citizen making it, but to society at large. Despondency must not be thrown across the pathway of these people, optimism must be their inspiration.

It is thus the duty of the State to educate the inmates of these institutions to the safe limits of their capacity, with a view to their own happiness and the advantage of their country; and to assist in this useful work, industrial facilities should be attached to all these homes for the purpose of developing the technical skill of the inmates. Not only are they thus kept in useful and healthful employment, but are afforded the opportunity of learning a valuable vocation for their future independent support. These facilities would not only go far toward preparing the inmate for a useful life in the world, but would also assist the State by affording products to be sold

in the domestic or foreign markets at the same prices demanded for like products created elsewhere, whose proceeds should be applied toward the upkeep of these institutions.

It is scarcely necessary to advocate the provision of institutions where the orphans of the State can be cared for and properly prepared for a useful life. No amount of time, energy, or money, used by the State for this purpose, can be considered unwise or ill-spent, so long as business-like and honest methods prevail in their management. All the considerations mentioned in connection with the above-suggested institutions are even more applicable here, as the care of the orphan is probably the most important eleemosynary work the State can undertake. For this reason, such labor should not be left to private or religious interests, but should be undertaken by the people as a whole. All the above needs must or should be an obligation of the public, since they vitally concern the future citizenship of the nation. No healthy or progressive democracy can fail to meet promptly and fully every responsibility imposed by these humane requirements.

In many, perhaps most, states, efforts along these lines have been made, and many beautiful and useful institutions have risen in obedience to a sane and growing American sentiment. But, promising as these may be, it is perfectly safe to say that none of them have fully measured up to the proper requirements, and must continue to evolve under the combined assistance of state and nation, under the advisory direction of the latter, before they can be expected to assume perfected forms.

In conclusion, it is only left to say that the most sane and scientific attention should be given to the health of these institutions. The enormous death rate observable in these homes, especially in the orphan asylums, is a standing monument to the State's neglect of its helpless wards. Could there be a stronger or more convincing argument of its delinquency? When will the people arouse from their selfish slumber and come to the rescue of their needy dependents? Why should they continue to impose their burdens upon the shoulders of individual citizens? The absorbing importance of this public duty is too great to be left to the caprice of private contributions, church donations, or popular "drives."

REFORMATORIES FOR ERRANT YOUTH

Government should establish reformatories for the erring youth of both sexes. To place the young miscreant, who may be the victim of a momentary impulse or of improper association, in the companionship of the hardened adult criminal is heinous in the extreme—is to rob him or her of every possible chance, it may be, of reformation. Such an act of the State is really more criminal than that for which the unfortunate is confined. Separate institutions for the sexes should be constructed and plainly but neatly equipped, so as to be as home-like as it is possible to make them. They should be conducted with the sole view of educating both head and heart, and thus of changing the outlook upon life. They should not encourage idleness, the most inimical obstacle to progressive development, but should urge the inmate to ambitious action. To this end, industrial departments should be attached, in which the inmate should be compulsorily employed according to peculiar talent and receive a proper wage. This wage, after deducting the expense of the inmate's upkeep, should be paid over to his or her indigent family, or, in case the family is self-sustaining, which fact should be established by proper investigation, should be deposited by the State to the credit of the inmate, to be delivered to him or her on leaving the institution as a start in life. Nor should the public's duty end here. It should assist the inmate in establishing a useful business, and continue its benevolent and generous guardianship until that business is a paying enterprise under the management of the former inmate, or until he or she shall prove incapable of conducting a personal enterprise, in which case the State should assist in securing proper and permanent employment. It should, under no circumstances, lose sight of its ward until sufficient stability of character has been reached to render the effects of its labors perpetual.

These institutions could be made self-sustaining, under proper management, and the instruments for saving to a useful life numberless youths of both sexes now lost annually to the

nation. They should always be conducted by the State and, under no circumstances, be allowed to fall under the control of private or sectarian interests. They are either obligations of all the people or no obligations at all. We cannot with safety confide these sacred and sovereign functions to any sectarian interests, however altruistic they may be, without sacrificing our national self-respect. Such influence would create confusion and consternation in the spiritual atmosphere of these institutions where are domiciled so many minds that have been subjected to different doctrinal beliefs, and would undermine or destroy that sense of religious security so necessary to a steady intellectual and ethical development. All ecclesiastical bodies should be impartially admitted into these homes, and be permitted to officiate religiously on an equal footing, no advantage being given one over another. Every inmate has a right to the enjoyment of his or her own religious faith, without the slightest interference from the bigotry of others.

THE DRAINAGE OF MARSHES AND IRRIGATION OF ARID LANDS

The State is obligated, as a sovereign power, to drain all extensive marshes and to irrigate all extensive arid lands, whether they be public or private possessions. It must be evident to the reflective mind that such enterprises are most frequently beyond the limits of private capacity. The government alone has at its command the engineering skill and financial strength to successfully carry through these great undertakings.

In the case of public lands, the government is obligated, by every reason of fairness, to put them into a proper condition for successful cultivation. To sell its lands to its citizen and encourage him to settle thereon in the hope of satisfactory returns on his labor, and neglect to put them into proper condition for profitable cultivation is no part of the conduct of a benevolent government—is, in truth, an undeniable insincerity, since it has sold to the citizen what it knew he could not profitably use. If it has sold marsh lands, it should drain them; if arid lands, it should put water on them, as neither are susceptible of cultivation in any other way.

In the case of large areas of privately owned lands, possessions of very doubtful propriety and wisdom, the government should undertake the necessary improvements, and assess the cost to the owners, in order to bring these areas into active production at as early a date as possible. The cost of the enterprise should be levied against the lands as a mortgage payable at a suitable future date and at a fair rate of interest, the plants remaining in the possession and under the direction of the government until the debt has been fully liquidated, and a fair charge being made by the government to keep the plants in proper repair. Lands reverting to the government under such mortgages should be resold to the bona fide settler at the usual price of public lands plus the cost of such improvements as may have been erected upon them, and the cost to the gov-

ernment of the prorated expense of construction, operation and maintenance of the drainage or irrigation plants on them.

Such a policy would incur no expense to the government in the case of privately owned lands, and in the case of public lands, only what is justly expected of a progressive and provident State. Under such a governmental system of improvement, vast areas of arid lands which now lie waste and neglected would be brought under proper cultivation and made to contribute their proportion to the wants of the people.

THE POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY OF AMERICAN WOMANHOOD

How will the newly enfranchised woman use the ballot? On which side of the pressing issues will she always stand? This is probably a question the future alone can answer in its entirety.

Man is a compound of good and evil forces. He may be dominated by the noblest qualities, or fall under the sway of the baser impulses of his nature. Springing from these two classes of attributes are two classes of men. That class of men over whom the finer qualities of the spirit rule stand for the loftiest and most idealistic expressions of human endeavor, while that class dominated by the grosser and more materialistic traits of human nature stand for the advancement of the selfish and degenerate aspirations of human character. These two classes of men are ever in mutual conflict for supremacy. The one makes for progress, the other for reactionism. This conflict obtains not only in their private and business life, but in their public life as well. Thus, not only are the business affairs of the world affected by the two controlling forces of human nature, but the destiny of the State is tossed up and down between them and oscillates from good to evil government, according to whether the one or the other predominates. The good is open but more determined, the evil is more secretive and subtle. These two forces are nearly equally balanced in the daily life of the world, but it is ordained in the wisdom of Providence that the good shall ultimately triumph over the evil. To fulfil this ordination, the forces of good organize against the forces of evil, which in turn organize against progress and advancement. This is ever the final issue in all contests.

Woman is joint heir with man in all the conflicting attributes of his nature, but, be it ever said to her glory, her noble attributes far outweigh her unfavorable qualities. The predominance of her good qualities compels her to stand as a sex for all that is best and right in private and public life. But

as there are good and worthy, and bad and unworthy, men in every walk or class of the nation's life, so also there are good and worthy, and unworthy, women to be found in these several spheres of action. Let us be frank and look facts squarely in the face. I have no desire to distort the truth in the discussion of so serious a question. There will, therefore, be dangerous voters among the women, as there are dangerous voters among the men, who will always put self and station above all other considerations, in their conduct toward public duty. It is against this undesirable element of both sexes that the better element must unite. To this end, the worthy woman voter in every station of life must be on guard against the wary and designing politician. He is ever on the alert for accessions to his voting strength. The professional office-seeker is rarely a patriot. He is ever seeking the satisfaction of his own interests and, like the weather-vane, constantly shifts from principle to expediency. He looks exclusively to the present and its possible gains, and loses no time with the future, except where it may serve him. True statesmanship is to him a lost art. Already he is anxious to "train" the new voters. Let the women beware of such assistance. They will be fully able to train themselves in the technique of voting, and this is all the assistance they could possibly need. Let the woman voter be on guard against all political propaganda. It is obligatory upon her to study the principles of the national Constitution and organize her strength, not as sex against sex, for this would be politically unwise and socially destructive, but with a view to defending these principles in all their varied applications to local and national policies. In this manner only may she appreciate her newly acquired responsibility and fully discharge the duties of true citizenship. She must ignore slavish party fealty, and vote for principle only. The woman voter can never perform the part of patriotic citizenship so long as she is dependent for guidance. She must be independent if she is to properly discharge the obligations the franchise has imposed upon her.

Women's clubs should be formed in all states, counties and municipalities with a view to expounding the principles of our

form of government and the duties of citizenship, and displaying the issues involved in all election campaigns. But these organizations cannot undertake to control the woman vote without exercising dangerous un-American and tyrannical domination over their memberships. Their purpose should be to impartially instruct in the principles involved in the issues of the campaigns, and their accord with the principles of the Constitution, and allow the judgment of the voter perfect freedom of action at the polls. They should discuss and bare the facts so as to enable the voter to comprehend them, and leave the ballot to her discretion.

The women of the nation cannot afford to ignore the demands of the hour. They must and probably will do their part in the nation's future. They should watch the demagogue who willingly relegates to comparative uselessness every principle of the Constitution as he rushes headlong for public office, and will not hesitate to pollute the purity of woman's sacred right of franchise, if, by so doing, he shall be able to make greater political gains.

Then there is another consideration in this connection that must not be lost sight of. Let the women of the nation remember that they can do more for the nation and home by casting, without crude ostentation or boasting display, their honest and conscientious ballot on behalf of right, and continuing in their accustomed home functions. They will fail in the good they hope to do if they surrender their noble and modest femininity to a rude masculine assimilation. No woman can imitate man without infringing the laws of her nature. A woman simulating man is no more woman than a man is man who simulates woman. Each sex has its peculiar mental attitude, and cannot violate this attitude without becoming largely an un-sexed monstrosity. The hope has been universally entertained that woman would add her gentle feminine virtues to the force of her honest ballot, and thus lift our political atmosphere out of the corrupting miasma, in which it now finds itself, into a loftier and more exalted purity, and thus surround the election with an air of sanctity. But she cannot do this unless she remains woman—unless she retains the

simple purity and inviting enlightenment of her true feminine nature. Efforts will be made to induce her to invade every field of masculine activity—even to the degrading masculine sports of the times—and if she yields, all is lost, for instead of receiving the aid of her present uplifting power in our labor to better our government for ourselves and posterity, we shall be compelled to contend with an additional corrupting political force in our national life, whose consequences the wisest statesmen cannot foresee.

O, enfranchised womanhood of America, do not forget that thou still art woman—after all, the noblest work of God—and that thy natural and invincible empire lies about the home and its sacred fireside! Do not surrender those gentle and kindly virtues, to which all the world in all ages has bowed the knee in truest admiration, or yield the sublime purity of thy former days, which shone like a sun in the night of masculine incongruity, to the debasing and sensuous influences which tend to hem us in today! To thee we appeal to still carry aloft the light of the saving grace of purity, and entreat thee not to extinguish this guiding light in the perilous darkness which now obscures our way!

THE POLICY OF INTERNATIONAL FAIRNESS

The frankest fairness should be practiced among nations. No nation has any right to meddle in the domestic affairs of its neighbor. This applies to ourselves as well as to others. Unless actively and positively damaged thereby, the management of our neighbor's business does not concern us. Favorite-nation clauses only result in injustice, and lead away from peace in the direction of war. It is only by being just ourselves that we have the right to expect justice from others. Fairness to all and favors to none should characterize our international relations.

But there are forces in our country which run counter to these plain axioms of right. The chief of these are involved in the so-called Irish Question. Right principles only should be our guide in all matters. We cannot afford to imperil our sympathies by hanging them upon the fragile support of injustice. If we are to respect these sympathies in the future we must so guard them that we shall not be shamed when confronted with them.

No true American can view with unconcern the increasing chilliness in the friendly relations between our own country and the British Empire. The threatened break in this traditional friendship appears to become more ominous from month to month as interested parties drive the wedge of hostility more deeply between the two nations. Much of this untoward influence is attributable to agencies of foreign source. How long shall we as Americans countenance the interference of foreign agitators? All true Americans, whatever their descent, must realize sooner or later, if they do not already, that none of the foreign propagandists as such have any right to be in the country. This is especially true of the leaders of propagandism. It must be evident to the most casual observer that they do not come to serve American interest. Each has his own special object to accomplish, and expects to accomplish it at the expense of America.

It is reasonably well known to observant men that the Irish Question, in its present aspect, is primarily one of religion. The Irish Protestants of North Ireland fear the domination of the Irish Catholics of South Ireland, hence the present impasse. With the merits of this phase of the controversy we are not concerned. But the so-called president of the so-called Irish Republic whose capital is in South Ireland, visits our shores in the interest of his so-called republic. He comes to appeal to Irish Catholic sentiment in America against Irish Protestant sentiment in Ireland. This must be his purpose if he has any motive at all, and we cannot reasonably charge this gentleman with the idleness of a pleasure visit at this time to the western continent. Is it not easy to foresee the consequences of such agitation? Is it not practically certain to accentuate our religious differences? And is it not equally certain to intensify the present spirit of unrest in America, and correspondingly encourage all the specious doctrines of radicalism? Then, there is another possibility growing out of this agitation. How long will the friendly people of Britain tolerate our meddling attitude? When will their patience reach the breaking point? Already serious protests are heard, and they are not all from obscure sources either. What would be our situation if Britain grew weary of this inimical agitation and issued an ultimatum for its immediate suppression? This is by no means an unusual course between nations where the question of national honor or territorial integrity is involved. What would likely be the result of such a British move? We should probably witness the humiliating spectacle of an obsequious congress, especially the senate, busying itself to repudiate all meddling intentions, and issuing a peremptory order for the prompt return of these propagandists to their home shores. But, in the meantime, what would be our resultant attitude? What, but that of a meddling and timorous nation, confessing its wrong and seeking escape from its dilemma. We fear nothing when we are right, but it is just this character that makes us dread to be drawn into an unrighteous war.

An attempt has been made by some to draw an analogy between Ireland and Cuba, as indicating a reason for our in-

tervention in the interest of the former island; but the suggested analogy is entirely inapplicable. Cuba is at our very door and groaned under the oppressive heel of a master who from time immemorial was notoriously cruel. But Ireland is more than two thousand miles distant and ruled by one of the most humane peoples of the earth, whom we ourselves have largely imitated in our provincial governments. It is also interesting to note in this connection that the British Empire, in its true essence, is a federation of independent States, each enjoying a most liberal home rule and being only required to recognize the head of the system and receiving in return its protection. These states were not all free on entering the imperial union, but have since become so. Even India is becoming more independent as from year to year her government falls more and more into the hands of her own people. This has been the universal policy of the British government for more than a century. The result is that harmony prevails today everywhere in this federation, except in India where enemy propagandists are at work, and in Ireland where the people aspire to absolute independence or national sovereignty with all its attending responsibilities.

One of our most noted publicists once declared that no question is ever settled until it is settled right, and he may have added by way of emphasis that no question is ever settled right until it is settled in full accord with the principle of justice and to the satisfaction of all interests concerned. The proper settlement of any question presupposes, therefore, an unbiased study of all interests involved. It must be candidly considered and fairly approached from every direction. In no other manner may its full bearings be reached. The Irish Question forms no exception to the rule, and to assist in settling it right, we must study carefully and conscientiously all interests concerned. These interests are threefold: Our own, those of Great Britain, and those of Ireland. Only the salient facts connected with these several interests may be suggested here. The details must be elaborated by the earnest student at his leisure.

In arriving at a just decision as to our course in this great

controversy, we must not only take cognizance of the material interests of ourselves and the contending peoples, but keep constantly in mind the moral obligations entering into the question. Otherwise, we would subvert the very principles upon which we may hope to base a permanent and just settlement of the subject at issue.

What, then, do our material interests in this settlement demand? Clearly, that Ireland and Britain shall be at peace and in the enjoyment of the fullest prosperity and contentment. Social and commercial intercourse with these peoples is possible in no other manner than through the normal channels of peace. If we are to profit by their industry, and they by ours, peace must prevail. The destructive forces of war are incompatible with the happiness and prosperity of nations. Britain and Ireland may not hope to evade the inexorable law of nature.

Our moral obligations demand the staunchest justice to both sides in this controversy, remembering that our nation owes its founding to the brave and courageous men and women of Britain, who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries braved the perils of land and sea to erect the rude hamlets along the Atlantic coast, which were the promise of the great democracy of today, under whose flag we enjoy the blessings of political and religious liberty. To these British colonies subsequently came other immigrants from Europe and Ireland, who in after years aided materially in the acquirement of colonial independence.

Since the founding of the Republic, Irish immigrants from time to time have made their homes in the United States where they have been most cordially and graciously received. But these migrations were entirely voluntary. They came of their own accord, and their coming involved no moral obligations on our part save that of hospitality to the stranger. Thenceforth, the credit balance was in our favor. We owed no more to the Irishman than to the Briton, the Scot, the German, the Frenchman, the Hollander, the Swede, or the national of any other country. These several peoples aided alike in the building of the nation. We are no more obligated to one than to

another. All were received with the same favor, and none had the right to claim or expect partial treatment. The benevolent treatment which the Irish immigrants received at our hands throws the obligations to their side of the balance sheet. When they came to America and swore fidelity to the American flag, they thereby disavowed all further allegiance to Ireland and her associates of the British Empire. Thus, when they became Americans, they ceased to be Irishmen or Britishers. No man can be a citizen of two countries at the same time. There never was asserted a more absurd and dangerous doctrine than that of a divided allegiance. If a man may claim two countries, he may claim any number, which is equivalent to saying he has none. When a foreigner, it matters not whence he comes, becomes a naturalized citizen of the United States, he assumes all the responsibilities of citizenship and must think, act, and live in accordance therewith. In other words, he must cease looking through foreign glasses and see through American only. He must take the American viewpoint or be unfaithful to his adopted country, and in that case manly pride and candor would dictate his departure from it. This is axiomatic and needs no argument.

Today our obligation to Ireland, as it would be to any people similarly situated, is to assist her in her material and intellectual aspirations as far as we may be able without interfering with the political relations between herself and her suzerain. This is a matter that must be settled by herself and Britain. She is a member of the British Empire, and her case is a purely domestic one. No outside people have the right to interfere. They may only tender both contending parties their best offices in arriving at a fair settlement of the difficulties involved, but further than this they may not proceed.

Ireland's moral obligation to us is to show appreciation for the friendly welcome her people have always received on our shores, and for the social, material, and political advancement many of them have enjoyed. She cannot claim credit for what her descendants have done in America. The citizen does not honor his country by his service thereto, however great it may have been; but his country honors him in the trust it has

placed in him. No citizen may truly claim credit for doing what was his plain duty to his country. Ireland also owes it to us to prohibit, as far as she may be able, the attempts of her propagandists to mold public opinion in the United States to their political purposes through substituting their own views for the honest convictions of our people. She should be satisfied with the benefactions we have rendered her, and not presume too far upon the pro-Irish sentiment she may feel she has established for the execution of her political designs. This is neither fair nor friendly.

Our moral obligation to Britain is to assist her as a friend and co-laborer in the work of advancing civilization, and to maintain toward her an attitude of unbiased justice. The two unpleasantnesses we had with her have not prevented her doing us yeoman service on repeated occasions. Neither should we forget that in the service we recently rendered her, she was only a participant in a service we rendered ourselves and the world. The benefits she derived from our successes in the great war were not hers alone; nor should they lead us to assume the right to meddle in her internal affairs. Our attitude should be that of a friendly coadjutor in her efforts to settle the unfortunate difficulties which have arisen in her great family of states, and not as a weak and wavering friend led away by the specious arguments of others.

And Britain owes it to us to continue that confidence in us that past relations justify. For generations she has had no firmer friend than ourselves, and this has recently been confirmed by the sacrifice of our best blood and treasure in the common cause for which we fought. Let her continue to join hands with us in the common effort to work out our racial and national destinies, and to contribute our due proportions to the growth and development of the world's benevolent spirit.

Britain owes it to Ireland to grant her the largest measure of liberty required in her normal development, and to prove by unstinted magnanimity her purity of motive and purpose toward her ward and associate. In politics, religion, education, and material advancement, she should pursue a most impartial course toward all the Irish people, assisting all factions equally

and favoring none. By pursuing this course and giving Ireland the broadest measure of home-rule independence, Britain will declare before the world her whole-hearted wish to serve all her peoples fairly and equally as they may be able to safely apply the liberty thus granted.

Ireland, on her part, owes much to her great suzerain. How could she survive without the protection of Britain? How helpless she would be without British support. Let her be fair and faithful to her protectress and so act as to deserve her full confidence, and it cannot be reasonably doubted that she will be favored in return. Let her enter most cordially into good-will relations with her great suzerain, remembering that as Britain cannot be happy with Ireland constantly battling at the Castle gate, neither can Ireland sleep safely and soundly under the continued roar of the British lion.

It is our close relationship with the two peoples concerned in this contention that makes the subject one of great moment to us. It requires very delicate handling by those who have it in charge. The Irish Question is the only one likely by careless bungling to lead to a *casus belli* between ourselves and Britain and her allies, and it behooves us as a nation to be exceedingly circumspect in our dealings with these two peoples, if we hope to escape the hatred of one or both. We cannot actively favor Irish political aspirations without deeply offending Britain. The absolute independence of Ireland in the present state of the world's thought is not reasonably to be expected. Is it to be imagined for a moment that Britain will surrender Ireland without a struggle? It is no more likely that she would do so than that we would surrender one of our states or provinces under foreign duress. The sovereignty of Ireland, under amicable arrangement, would be a very desirable finale to the present contention, but Irish sovereignty acquired by violence is impossible, especially if America is expected to furnish the violence. But even supposing Ireland should conquer her absolute independence, how long would she be able to retain it, situated as she is within the poisonous breath of her great enemy? How would it be possible for her to prosper and develop under the withering frown of her former great associate? Would not

the natural sapping power of her great neighbor gradually rob her of every vestige of her vaunted independence? And what nation would be likely to imperil the peace, safety, and happiness of its people by sitting in perpetual vigilance over the independence of Ireland?

Already a dark and angry nimbus hangs over our horizon. It is as yet scarcely perceptible, but it is there, and ever and anon the fierce flashes from its ragged rim proclaim the ferocity of its sinister character. This is no chimera of the imagination, but observant and reflective men may easily behold it. It is the Irish Question fraught with all its possibilities. Let our people take warning before it is too late. Let them beware of the solicitations of alien propagandists whose seductive arguments lead only to a labyrinth of disasters.

But these propagandists care little about the consequences of their activities among our people, so long as they accomplish their political purposes. This is shown by the fact that while our President was overtaxing his strength and risking his health in the defense of the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations, these propagandists of a foreign so-called republic were proclaiming throughout our nation against the advisability of its entrance into these international relations, largely because they despised Britain for her prompt action in suppressing their pro-enemy and disloyal course during the war. All reasonable men, even intelligent Irishmen, must realize that the disloyal element of her people injured Ireland's struggle for a broader liberty.

As for us, let us act the part of wisdom. What right have we, whatever our sympathies, to interfere in the course of these Irish factions, or to intervene in the domestic affairs of a friendly ally? Why not allow the interested peoples to solve their problems in their own way? Why should we assume to impose our dictum upon them? Would we tolerate such action by others? Have we so proudly and successfully settled all our own problems that we can now afford to lend other peoples the light of our fathomless wisdom?

And yet these propagandists are allowed to pursue their way unmolested and, in some localities, even encouraged by the

authorities, assailing our national and international policies, and, it may be, laying the foundation for future domestic strife. Away with such Americanism! This is no time for foreigners, it matters not whence they come, to stir up intentional or unintentional sedition or rebellion among our people on behalf of a fanciful political entity, which as yet has no material existence or standing in the world, or to arouse hostile feelings between ourselves and our friendly neighbors, which at any time may bring us into armed conflict with them. Hence, as an American, I assert these gentlemen should return to their respective domains, and leave us undisturbed to solve our own difficult and pressing problems.

Many of us have large percentages of Celtic blood in our veins, but for all that we are not Irish, Scottish, or Welsh, but Americans, and such we should be happy to remain.

Let Ireland reconcile her political and religious factions and, accepting the liberal home rule Britain is ready to offer, proceed in her rational and normal course of development until the arrival of the happy time when the broadening spirit of the world shall demand the perfect liberty of every people to pursue its own career in accordance with the exigencies of its destiny. But it is safe to say that time has not yet arrived, and until it does, let us wisely yield to the necessities of the present.

THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS

Human progress is possible only by an interchange of thought expressed by the spoken word or written letter. Through this interchange of thought new ideas are formed and applied to the needs of man, and thus the race proceeds onward in its mission. There can be no more certain method of retarding human development than the suppression of free speech and a free press. These are the only avenues through which new and advanced thought finds expression in the affairs of the world. To restrain this freedom is to put a damper on human hope and aspiration—to confine the energies of man within certain prescribed limits, fixed and ordained by the judgment, good or bad, of interested forces. The surest way to cure an evil is to expose it to the view of enlightened thought; for thus only may the race advance to higher stages of life.

No human institution is perfect in its nature; hence it is an inalienable right of the citizen to freely discuss and, if need be, criticize the administrative methods of applying the principles of the Constitution in our collective life, since it is only in this manner that governmental improvement may be reached. But freedom of speech and of the press should not be construed into a license of these beneficent agencies. Where this freedom is used to encourage action against the principles of the Constitution—against what is clearly righteous policy, what has been immemorially recognized and accepted as ethically just—it becomes iniquitous and dangerous, and should be promptly suppressed. It is only benevolent when it aims at progress and advancement; it is malevolent when it aims at violent reactionism, or the substitution of destructive anarchy for orderly government. It is the unquestionable right and duty of government to suppress such lawless and destructive tendencies, as they only attempt to hide their real motives under the garb of freedom. It is not freedom but license when sane and wholesome institutions and principles are assailed and subverted by the wild and irresponsible use of word or pen.

But speech and the press, under proper safeguards, must

be free, if the human race is to go forward in its development. No interest should be permitted to stifle these progressive agencies, or to control, subsidize, or otherwise direct them along prescribed and special channels of thought, with a view to molding public opinion for ulterior and selfish purposes. Failure of government to protect these beneficent forces can but result in final disaster to the freedom of popular institutions. Government should pass such legislation as will purify and augment the educational value of these agencies along the lines of their true purposes and efforts in our public life; for we cannot overestimate their power for good or evil.

This article should not be closed without an earnest appeal to the speaker, wherever he may be, and to the writer, whatever form his work may take, to keep uppermost in the public mind the best and purest thought. How quickly and relentlessly we punish the man who can be bribed to poison the water and food supply of the people—the means by which the body is sustained—but how willingly we permit men to pollute, for selfish reasons, the mental and spiritual atmosphere, in which the people daily live, by the injection of all kinds of corrupting, defiling and stifling thought! Why the protection of the body and the neglect of the mind and spirit of the citizen. Such a course is subversive of the very foundations of human destiny. What a cruel and unpardonable repudiation of a public responsibility!

Woe to the speaker or the writer who poisons the fountains of human hope!

This author is
 honest! honestly!
 - the best thing
 a government can do

THE PROHIBITION OF PROFITEERING

The burdens of our people, inflicted by the war-time and after-war profiteer, are almost beyond credibility. It is questionable whether a less patient and law-abiding people would have tolerated them. It was only natural that war needs would cause a rise in the cost of everything we use, but long after this emergency has past—long after the war has ended and the excuse for excessive prices has vanished with it, the profiteer is still plying his selfish methods. Justice and right to such a man are considered obsolete.

If the State has the right to fix the rate of interest, or profit, on borrowed money, why has it not the right to fix the rate of profit on the manufacture and sale of commodities? Why should the rate of interest, or profit, on money, the circulating medium of the people, be fixed, while the profit rate on the manufacture and sale of merchandise, which is intended for popular consumption and therefore more necessary than money, be left free and unrestrained? Is not this control of money interest in the interest of the people? Why is not control as valuable in one case as in the other? And where this control is lacking, are not the people harmed in the one case as in the other? Why should the people be protected against usury in interest rates and left at the mercy of the usurer in mercantile profits? Wherein is the one usurer more holy than the other? Why is one class of business favored at the expense of another? If the regulation of the rate of interest, or profit, on borrowed money is right, then is it also right to regulate the rate of profit on the manufacture and sale of commodities.

Under existing conditions, the lender of money is penalized, and rightly too, if he goes beyond the legal rate of interest, while the manufacturer and merchant are encouraged to realize from one hundred to one thousand per cent on their sales—as much, in fact, as they are able to extort. And who are the sufferers but the people, in the one case as in the other? Both lines of business incur peril and possible loss, yet one is limited and restrained, while the other is scot free.

If it is lawful and right, and no one doubts it, to regulate the interest or profits, on money loans, in the interest of the people, it is equally lawful and right to regulate profits derived from the manufacture and sale of commodities, in their interest. In neither case should these profits be excessive. And as the interest rates should vary with the living-cost in various sections of the country, so the mercantile and manufacturing profits should vary in the same manner and for the same reason. When the living-cost in any particular region of the country is high, the profits from money loans and from commodity manufacture and sales should be correspondingly high, but, in no case, out of proportion to the wages earned and the compensation granted the various classes of service.

Every citizen must derive his livelihood from his vocation, whether he be a money lender, manufacturer, or merchant, but he should not be permitted to impoverish his fellow citizens, in order to lay up idle wealth—wealth accumulated beyond his legitimate needs. Of what value can it be to him, if he cannot use it? If it leads him into a riotous and luxurious life, fatal to his nobler self, what real good can come to him from its possession? The answer is simple. If he cannot use it in the satisfaction of his legitimate daily wants or the wants of others, the inborn selfishness of human nature will lead him to use it to the disadvantage of some one else; for what he gains through it must be taken from others—sometimes to their utter ruin. The charities of such a man may not serve as an excuse for his continued accumulation of wealth, since as a rule they are a mere bagatelle in comparison with his real possessions.

Let the government regulate manufacturing and mercantile profits as it does money interest, or profits, and penalize with imprisonment any citizen who infringes the law. The fine system will fail, as the fine will be paid and the practice go on as before. Imprisonment is the only punishment that will restrain the profiteer.

Many of these men are otherwise good citizens. They are the product of a bad system of education and governmental training. Had they been properly educated against such selfish impulses and practices, and rigorously restrained by government,

the people would have suffered far less and been far happier, and we probably would have heard far less of discontent and unrest.

A government which really intends to govern will not continue to tolerate such practices against the just rights of the people. It will proceed to regulate business profits by restoring the full action of the natural laws of trade and, if this fails, will take such action as will afford industry a net profit not greater than the legal rate of interest on money in the state of its domicile, grant wages proportionate to the reasonable needs of labor, and prevent the exploitation of the people through the imposition of ruinous prices. It will also penalize excessive salaries, as these are frequently resorted to to deceive the public. It will, in no case, allow net profits above double the legal rate of interest; in which case, one half are to go to the capital invested, the other going to the labor which created it.

There need be no apprehension regarding ready money to develop our natural resources. The frugality and economy, which are inborn in a certain proportion of our people, will enable the citizen to save enough of his regulated profits to join with his neighbor in the sane and wholesome development of the nation's resources.

POPULAR ETHICS

Man is not the product of evolutionary accident. The mysterious wisdom displayed in his wondrous organic constitution and in his highest mental and moral attributes proclaim his spiritual source. The specious doctrine of Darwin, though still ostensibly adhered to by the majority of modern scientists, is gradually crumbling into decay. Many of our most advanced scientists of today, if bold enough to put aside fashion and declare their true views, would, it is believed, confess doubt regarding the truth of this materialistic doctrine; while such stalwart authorities as Le Conte, Dawson, Stalgle, Lyell, Virchow, Dana, Winchell, Kloatsch, Mivart, Max Müller and others, long ago declared it untenable.

The proponents of organic evolution, as Darwin conceived it, are wont to refer to the savage as an example of the early human product of the evolutionary forces. But as the savage possesses all the faculties of civilized man, in an undeveloped state, only requiring experience to bring them out, it follows that he did not evolve these faculties but inherited them. This would indicate that this backward man is a degenerate or neglected scion of a once finer race. And this view is confirmed by Max Müller, the great Oxford savant, when he propounds the following query: "What do we know of savage tribes beyond the last chapter of their history? Do we ever get an insight into their antecedents? How have they come to be what they are? Their language, indeed, proves that these so-called heathens, with their complicated systems of mythology, their artificial customs, their unintelligible whims and vagaries, are not the customs of today or yesterday. They may have passed through ever so many vicissitudes, and what we consider primitive may be, for all we know, a corruption of something that was more rational and intelligible in former stages." He then proceeds to say: "Many things are still unintelligible to us, and the hieroglyphic language of antiquity records but half of the mind's unconscious intuitions. Yet more and more the image of man, in whatever clime we meet him, rises before us, noble and pure from the very beginning;

even his errors we learn to understand, even his dreams we learn to interpret. As far as we can trace back the footsteps of man, even on the lowest strata of history, we see the divine gift of a sacred and sober intellect belonging to him from the very first, and the idea of humanity emerging slowly from the depths of an animal brutality can never be maintained again."

Man is the creature of Divine Wisdom—perfect in his material, mental and spiritual constitution but undeveloped, especially in the two last phases of his life. He possesses all the faculties he requires to enable him to comply with all the laws of these three phases of his life, and to work out his destiny on these planes of activity; but what gains he makes in this direction must be achieved by incessant and earnest endeavor. His only hope of future progress lies in obedience, difficult as this may be, to all the laws of his threefold nature, especially those which control his ethical constitution. But what do we find to be the real situation today? Thoughtful observation will show that the unethical or reactionary forces are struggling into ascendancy. The whole ethical fabric of civilization, which the race through ages of painful toil has erected, is threatened with collapse. On every side we behold the evidences of ethical decay. The individual ignores the law of justice and right in his dealings with his fellow, while, of our citizenry, group selfishly antagonizes group as the conflict for cruel exploitation goes on. Government, reflecting the character of the people, sluggishly exercises its power in the judicious enactment and enforcement of law; while the churches and educational systems unholily and unwisely measure duty in terms of finance. We have come at last to the worship of Mammon instead of the God of our fathers. These are hard and cruel but indisputable facts, and their continuance will eventually lead us into a national debacle whose ruinous effects it is impossible now to approximately estimate. We stand on the brink of the abyss. Shall we be able to save ourselves? is the question at present in the minds of thinking men. We should not be unduly pessimistic, neither, under the circumstances, can we afford to be foolishly optimistic. The conditions which now face us are not fanciful but real. They are manifest everywhere.

But what are we going to do about it? What course shall we take to escape the dilemma? There is and can be only one answer to the question. We must return to the old *truth*. We must divest it of the sordid habiliments of stupid indifference we have thrown about it and reinstate its former splendor. Let every citizen return to the simple altruism of former days—not, perhaps, to the same manners, customs and thoughts, though this would be preferable to our present tendency, but, at least, to the same noble spiritual impulses—to the same kind, gentle and honest promptings of the heart. In our rush forward to reach a cherished objective, we have left behind us the most valuable of our possessions. We have left the golden urn of truth with all its inestimable treasure. We shall need it on the way, whithersoever our course shall lead us. It is the only currency everywhere indispensable. Let us halt in our mad speed and return for this revivifying medium, and use it freely in the exchanges of our daily life. We must get back on the thoroughfare of truth! It alone leads to our proper destination.

Will not the churches and educational agencies of the nation banish the lackadaisical indifference and apparent despair, which now paralyze their efforts, and once again enter into active co-operation to elevate the spiritual and mental character of the people? These two agencies are the chief constructive forces in the nation and, with the home, must assume a proportionate responsibility in the advancement of the people—not that they must invade the field of action of one another, but that they must co-operate and mutually assist in the development of the people. These three must build the individual character which alone can sustain government. For government must forever reflect the character of the citizen. The character of the people indicate the character of their government, while the character of the government proves the character of the people. The two are inseparably associated in the relation of cause and effect. Government as an effect must reflect the character of the people as a cause. As the people are, so will their government be. When the home, church and school fail to perform their full mission in the elevation of individual character, the citizenship

of the nation must decline until it finally reaches a state of intellectual and ethical degeneracy, in which democracy becomes impossible. We are now traveling this road, and the question uppermost in the minds of thinking people is whether we shall see our error in time to turn from it before it is too late. It will require a most determined educational propaganda to make us see the light again, but it can and, I believe, will be done. The home must return to its responsibility and purity; the Church must again take up the practice of the simple faith of the fathers; and the schools must resume their former sanity. Through the influence of these three agencies, each vocation must be made to feel its proper responsibility in community life.

The professional man must be fair to his client, and refuse under any circumstances, to exploit him. He must show his client that his chief aim is to serve him faithfully and well, and not to make personal gain the main object of his efforts. The client, on his part, must show due appreciation for honest service, and bestow upon his benefactor proper consideration.

The business man must put aside subterfuge and sharp practice in his dealings with his patron, and give him a square deal; while the patron must act frankly and honestly with his dealer. Cordial and fraternal relations between the two should be carefully cultivated so as to create confidence in place of the distrust that now exists.

The employer should willingly grant his employe a fair wage, and furnish him wholesome environment during working hours. He must cultivate a sympathy for his less fortunate fellow citizen, and remember he is a brother laboring in the common cause of humanity. It would be better for both interests if some form of co-operation could be established whereby the two could enter into a kind of partnership and share in the profits, which should always be reasonable and never excessive. The employe, on his part, should be fair and faithful to his employer and give him an honest day's work. If he has sold his brain and muscle energy to his employer for a stated time, he must honestly deliver it. He cannot do otherwise without taking what does not belong to him.

The merchant should never rob his purchaser by exacting for the necessities of life exorbitant prices, nor sell to him

inferior goods without his knowledge of their real character. He should present a most pleasant mien to his purchasers, realizing the honor the purchaser confers upon him by favoring his establishment. This pleasant attitude should not be made the hypocritical means to an end, but should be natural and spontaneous, indicating the frankness of heart which prompts it. The purchaser, on his part, should be honest with his merchant and, according to agreement, promptly compensate him for goods purchased. He should always be above fraudulent practices. The practice of deception between the two must finally result in their mutual estrangement. When the business of the nation returns to a strictly ethical basis, we may hope for a rapid revival in domestic and foreign commerce and a speedy return to normal prosperity. We cannot violate the fundamental laws of safe business and expect commerce to thrive.

All forms of popular entertainment should cease to pander to the grosser instincts of human nature, and present only those features that will elevate and refine character. The proprietors of these spectacles should never permit selfish considerations to induce them to corrupt the public morals. To present to the popular mind, especially the younger element, scenes and performances, which poison and defile character, is in no wise better than the criminal who deliberately poisons his victim. Both act from selfish motives. All forms and classes of public entertainment should be clean and healthful. They are not only recreational but intensely educational. The criminality of a nation may be markedly increased or diminished by the character of its popular entertainments. The power of such agencies for good or evil cannot be overestimated. They should, therefore, be rigorously censored, and not in the perfunctory manner observed in some localities. They can be made the instruments for disseminating propaganda of the loftiest character, or for propaganda of the most ruinous kind.

When all agencies, concerned directly or indirectly in the education of the people, shall, without fear or favor, be forced by government to recognize their responsibility in the construction of character and to act in due conformity therewith, we may reasonably hope for the development of a nobler people and a better nation.

GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL OF DISTRIBUTING AGENCIES

The products of the nation should find a steady and even flow, at reasonable cost, from the hands of the producer through the various transportation and warehouse facilities, brokers and merchants, to the consumer. All these factors should receive reasonable compensation, proportionate to the service rendered, and none should be allowed a disproportionate share. In this way, the producer would receive a fair return on his labor, and be encouraged and enabled not only to increase the output but improve the quality of his product; while the various distributing agencies would prosper and be enabled to advance their facilities.

Under present conditions, the important function of distribution is more or less chaotic. While the producer is producing as much or even more than formerly, he is realizing such small returns as to discourage him from making increased efforts. Production is, therefore, threatened with a decrease at a time when greater production is required. The transportation facilities are burdened with the expense of over-capitalization, and are unable, after paying the interest on their bonded obligations and dividends on their over-capitalized stock, to maintain their systems in normal condition, much less to make extensions. And to meet these heavy demands, they are tempted to form combines or understandings whereby they exact greater charges for service, and thus pass on the incubus to other shoulders. The great expense of the other middle agencies, such as the brokers, warehouse men, and merchants, growing out of the increased cost of living and the extravagant life now customary, compels them to demand unusual compensation for their services and to organize themselves to secure it.

Thus, the extravagant tendency of modern life and the inflated and unrestrained selfishness, reflected in every class of our people, have conspired to exploit and victimize the consumer as never before in history. All interests have formed some sort of organization, efficient or inefficient, except the consumer who is now subjected to a price-inflation he cannot reach. He is

thus compelled to restrict his demands and to limit his purchases. But when he does this, all other interests react and finally recoil, to the confusion and chaos of general business.

The government has a difficult task to break this impasse. Will it be able to do so, or will it sit still and await the collapse and then proceed with a policy of reconstruction? There is every reason why it should busy itself immediately to cut the Gordian knot. Let it proceed earnestly to investigate the situation and arrive at some conception of efficient action. Away with incompetent investigations, which only serve to appease the impatience of the people! We have had enough of them! Let the government give us a fair, entirely competent, and honest industrial commission that will unravel this knotty problem, and offer some useful suggestion as to its prompt solution. But beyond any other conclusion at which such a commission may arrive, it is evident that the government should rigorously prohibit all combinations in restraint of freedom of trade, and the undue detention in warehouses and cold storage plants of products which should have free and easy access to the consumer; and enforce all such laws without respect to person or interest.

THE RELATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF AMERICAN RACES

When the White Race established itself on the American Continent, it did so in opposition to the Red Race already occupying the territory. Though in some very exceptional cases involuntary servitude was inflicted, it was not the purpose of the liberty-loving Caucasian to enslave the vanquished race, but rather to share with it the lands it had failed to properly use. Every region of the earth is preordained to contribute to the comfort and necessity of man. The American Continent afforded no exception to the law, and, in the very nature of things, its broad and fertile plains could not remain forever fallow.

In after years, when a certain adjustment had taken place between the White and Red Races, the Black Race was imported into the continent in a state of slavery, and in this condition continued for several centuries. Under the influence of slave labor all sections of the nation prospered directly or indirectly, especially in the South where the climate was more perfectly adapted to the physical welfare of the slave; and here the institution of slavery flourished as nowhere else in the nation. But though profoundly serviceable to the nation in its several fields of industry, slavery from the beginning was doomed to extinction. It was fated to oblivion from the very day of its arrival on our continent. The issue, though then only potential, was nevertheless sharply drawn. The Puritan and Cavalier had come to plant on American soil the bright banner of freedom and not the somber ensign of slavery. The anomaly of slavery in a free country was fated to overthrow. Slavery and freedom could not be mixed. The one or the other had to go. Either slavery had to die, or the American Constitution, designed for the government of the thirteen independent states, had to change from an instrument of democratic freedom to one of monarchical despotism.

As there is one God, so there is one common destiny for all mankind—the realization of the greatest perfection and the attainment of the Supreme Good—and at this goal every race

must ultimately arrive, provided it strive reasonably and well. Thus while the races present different attitudes, according to their varying physical, mental and spiritual constitution, no race enjoys special rights and privileges under the Divine Government. Each was created with the same physical, mental and spiritual principles, and the same faculties springing therefrom; and was endowed with the same rights to full opportunity to work out its own destiny. The development of these faculties has varied with the different races, but the faculties themselves have not differed. Thus, there are characteristic differences in every race, which distinguish it from every other, but these variations are of character alone. It is these peculiarities which constitute the different races and by which the races are distinctively marked. When they disappear in the race, the race as such also disappears. When the race deteriorates under unfavorable conditions of environment, it may finally reach the level of savage life; but still possesses the potentiality of development, and may in future rise again. (But when it degenerates as the result of its own failure to properly use its powers of development, it is doomed to extinction in a savage life. And there seems to be no limit to its physical, mental and spiritual degradation. It thus finally reaches a state from which there is no reaction or restitution and then rapidly becomes extinct.)

It is, therefore, a matter of vital importance to the race to preserve and develop its racial characters? The fulfillment of its destiny lies here. This is the only gate through which it may enter into the full realization of its mission. It cannot fail in this life-labor without failing in the reason for its existence. While destiny is the same for every race, each race must reach it over its own peculiar pathway. It can do no less and comply with the laws of its nature.

(For these various reasons, it is far better for each race to occupy its own territory. In this way only may it best pursue its destiny untrammelled. But where circumstances have thrown together a plurality of races in the joint occupation of the same territory, as often happens, and compel them to live under the same laws, the laws governing this area should be drawn and enforced to the advantage of all. All such legislation should

be applied to the equal protection and advancement of all the races concerned. But as each citizen of the democracy has the right to select his own social favorites and his own life companion without interference by others, so each race has the right to outline its own social career, and to preserve the purity of its blood, without being charged with injustice and cruelty toward others. These two rights are inalienable and therefore inviolable in every man and in every race. It is a question primarily of race right and privilege.)

In view of the foregoing facts, it follows as a natural corollary that a blending of the races can but result in final injury to all. In the amalgamation each loses its racial identity in the production of a mixed race, which is chiefly characterized by its mediocrity. The result is all the more unfortunate where the races vary in the scale of development—the injury resulting to the more backward race by disturbing the normal and preordained course of its development through the interference and imposition of forces and influences not its own—to the more advanced race, by casting impediments across the pathway of its progress. This is especially true where the advanced race is compelled to bear the burdens of the backward race, even though no blending takes place. But in blending, both have violated the law of nature—the one by receiving that which it did not labor to achieve, the other by failing to retain what it had labored to accomplish. The more backward race has been temporarily elevated, while the more advanced race has been temporarily lowered. Each has violated its divinely imposed obligation—the less advanced race by accepting that to which it was not immediately entitled and for which it was not properly prepared, the more advanced race by bestowing upon another what it had no right to alienate. Mutual race assistance is charity, but mutual race sacrifice is retributive. But the violation in neither case can endure. The natural laws of development of each race must at last resume their operation. Each race, whether alone or in company with others, must tread the path of its own ordination. This is its divinely appointed duty.

Although the Black Race was introduced to our continent in a condition of servitude, the inevitable emancipation at last took

place, and that race thenceforth entered upon its free career—not through its own power and might, but through the broadening altruism of the White Race. Now, at last, the three races, the White, Red and Black, are permitted to labor along more or less parallel lines in the efforts to carry out the decrees of their respective destinies. They have since lived and prospered in a common country under a common law; and so long as they continue in joint occupation of the American Continent, justice and harmony must characterize their mutual relations, if the mandates of Divinity in respect to each are to be encouraged and obeyed—each race enjoying equal protection and beneficence under the law and pursuing its own peculiar course toward the fulfillment of its true mission.

(It must be evident, then, that each race, while living its separate life, must maintain an attitude of trust and justice toward every other. Each must acknowledge the inalienable rights of every other, nor seek to interfere with the exercise thereof. It must accord to every other all the essential rights it claims for itself. In no other way may it hope to reach its full and unhindered development; for when it attempts to interfere with the inalienable rights of other races, it infringes the law of its own progress.)

Hence any studied effort to defeat the ends of nature by injecting discord into inter-racial relations must be inimical to every racial interest concerned; and any individual or group of individuals, who, from ambitious or selfish considerations, seeks to pit race against race in hostile antagonism, is an enemy to mankind, since racial welfare would be sacrificed to selfish personal or group interest. The nation, serving as a common home and protector of plural races, should be on constant guard against such nefarious practices, and punish with perpetual banishment any offender overtaken in such efforts to dismember the democracy. Further, (it should institute a vigorous educational propaganda, to the end that each of its races may understand its responsibilities to itself and to its associated races in the development, support and defense of the common country.) Nor should any race suffer itself to be led by enemy or selfish influence into hostile sentiment or antagonism toward the altruistic

hegemony of the predominant race—the race to which, perhaps, the country owes its founding and early life. But all the races must harmoniously co-operate in the development and defense of the common country; for only by so doing each best meets its own racial requirements, while contributing its due proportion of effort toward the common welfare. No other logical course is left open to intelligent races of men.

THE CARE OF THE EX-SOLDIER

The ex-soldier can never receive too much consideration from the people he so faithfully served. As in the case of the veteran of the World War, leaving home and family and, in most instances, good prospects for a profitable future, he willingly answered his country's call, and offered all upon its altar. What greater sacrifice could he make? After months of arduous training, he embarked for a foreign shore and there entered into battle for his nation's rights and the safety of the world. Day after day, month after month, and year after year, without the comforts of home and with only the scant necessities of his perilous life, he faced shot and shell and the deafening roar of countless artillery, underwent the scourge of pestilence, the undermining effects of foreign climate, and the paralyzing power of the nervous strain, only to return home at the conclusion of peace, maimed in body and crippled in health. He returned to find his former position lost, his business in ruins, and, in many instances, heavy debts incurred in the maintenance of those dependent upon him.

Glorious and heroic as his record was, he cannot live upon this alone. This may, indeed, and doubtless will, contribute greatly to the comfort of his mind and spirit in the years to come, but it never can satisfy the urgent needs of the physical man. These must be met by a grateful people.

Government cannot afford to pursue a niggardly course toward this soldier, who did not serve his country in this spirit. It is duty bound, as the agent of the people, to do everything possible to rehabilitate his life. First of all, it must restore his health and furnish artificial members where natural ones have been lost. Secondly, it must tender him educational facilities at least equal to those he surrendered on entering his country's service. Thirdly, it should grant a sufficient tract of land to afford him a comfortable farm if preferred. Fourthly, it should grant him a pension, or a bonus sufficient to enable him to begin life anew. He may prefer the certainty of regular monthly or

quarterly pension payments as a safeguard against future want, or he may prefer the bonus, to enable him to start in business anew. There are advantages and disadvantages in both these proposed methods of conferring financial relief. With the pension, the soldier is safe from want during life, but he can never save enough from this scant source to begin business. With the bonus he may be able to begin business in a modest way, but, should he fail, all is lost. The natural improvidence of humanity, and the large percentage of business failures annually recorded, make the bonus system very uncertain and risky. However, many, perhaps most, will prefer it. In any event, the people, through their government, should stand ready to comply with the request of each soldier, in the relief measure selected. They cannot afford to do less for the man who risked all for their honor and safety.

Nor can the nation afford to disregard the profit accruing to itself from such a course of assistance to its ex-service men. The constructive energy of several millions of men, distributed in the industrial, business, and social life of the nation, would constitute a stabilizing power in all these and other departments of national activity, of which the mind today does not in the fullest degree conceive. It would add enormously to the sanity, patriotism, and prosperity of our people, and create a sense of safety now unhappily below the normal. It would be impossible to appropriately estimate its present and future value.

The ex-soldier, on his part, should remember that the glory of defending his country's interests, especially in a foreign war, is above all other considerations. To have fought to preserve his nation's ideals, especially when they are clad in the imperishable luster of freedom and justice, is a transcendent honor as undying as the principles for which he battled. And this honor is heightened and ennobled by the gentle and affectionate recollection of those of his comrades, who made their last stand for home and country under a foreign sun. None but the soldier can truly appreciate the deep and inexpressible sadness he feels as he sees his heroic comrades fall, one by one, before the deadly missiles from the enemy's relentless guns. Is it any wonder that we find him, on his return, taciturn and

silent? Who can fathom the depth of that sentiment, created, stamped, and indelibly impressed by the horrors of war?

Whatever his country's attitude toward him, he proceeds on his way unperturbed, in the fullness of the knowledge that he possesses that of which neither negligence nor selfish indifference may deprive him—the consciousness that in the great struggle he played the part of a real man and true American. Let the soldier, then, while indicating his preference for the method of proposed relief, maintain that pose of quiet and lofty dignity which characterizes a stalwart and noble race. Let him honor and cherish above all else the sacred principles for which he fought, and leave the matter of magnanimous and appreciative action to those whose function it is to consider it.

Whatever disposition his country may make in the matter of his merited relief, his honor is safe and untarnished, and so it will forever remain.

PENALIZATION, ITS TRUE PURPOSE

That Man is an admixture of good and evil qualities is the common knowledge of all mankind. And that his chief mission is to develop the one and to suppress the other is the teaching of the religions and philosophies of all ages. He is also a social being. He is so constituted by nature that he must find his greatest happiness and advancement in the companionship of his fellows. But this social relationship requires certain rules and regulations, if it is to meet the just demands upon it. These rules and regulations are what we call government. If man's chief happiness and progress depend upon his social relations, the proper government of these relations becomes a necessity. It is the duty of government, then, to encourage the growth of his better nature and to repress his evil propensities, in the interest of both himself and his neighbor.

But no man is totally depraved. As no man is perfect in all his attributes, so none is so base as to be without good qualities. He is a swinging pendulum between the two constituents of his nature. If, in an unguarded moment, or on account of faulty education or unwholesome environment, which the State should control and regulate, individual judgment collapses, and the citizen is led to commit a crime, government should proceed against him with a view to his reclamation and restitution and not to his destruction. The action of the government should not only be punitive and deterrent but above all restorative. Even where the citizen has gone so far astray as to commit wilful murder, it is difficult to understand why the State should follow this example and commit the same crime for which it proposes to punish the guilty citizen. Capital punishment is, therefore, a very doubtful procedure. In these circumstances, wherein is the State any better than the recalcitrant citizen? Because the wayward citizen, whose lapses, in large measure, may be reasonably laid at the door of the neglectful State, has been lured by his evil self to take the life of his fellow, is that a sufficient and just reason why the progressive and intelligent State should commit the same crime against God and man?

Capital punishment is a relic of former absolutism when the power-mad despot held unlimited sway over the destiny of his enslaved subject.

If the evil qualities of the citizen so far predominate over his better nature as to render him a constant menace to his fellow citizens, the State should not take his life, but deprive him of his liberty and employ his constructive energies in some useful service, until the arrival of the time when he shall be able to control his evil nature and be restored to a useful life in the community. But in pursuing this course, the State should protect its citizens against precipitate, untimely, and erroneous emancipation of such a citizen. To return such a citizen, through corrupt political favoritism or a sickly, maudlin sentiment, to a life of crime among his neighbors, would constitute a woeful collapse of wise and orderly government. But with all due precautions, such a citizen, as soon as fit, should be returned to freedom and usefulness in the community. This is his plain and simple human right. Thus the State procedure against the criminal should be corrective rather than punitive.

Under our present penal system, the State procedure is based upon the reverse principle. It proposes to punish rather than reclaim the criminal, and thus arrogates to itself the divine prerogative of holding the delinquent citizen responsible for his moral lapses, when it should be content with holding him responsible for their effects. The State, in these circumstances, loses sight of the logical purpose of penalization—to work a needed reform in the character of the culprit with a view to restoring him to a useful life in the commonwealth—and too often treats him as a hopeless derelict incapable of any further benefaction to himself or his country. Instead of exerting its power with this benevolent purpose in view, it limits its efforts entirely to the protection of the public against the infraction of law, and to the relentless and brutish punishment of the offender, toward whose offense it, by its own neglect, may have largely contributed.

It goes without comment that every citizen, high and low, should obey the law. There should be no respect of persons. To enforce the law in one instance and relax it in another, with

a view to favoring one citizen and punishing another, works its practical nullification. To neglect the proper enforcement of the law is to ignore the fundamental principles of community life, and to lead in the direction of anarchy and political chaos. Enforcement of the law affords the only measure of a normal collective existence. It thus becomes a solemn obligation of the citizenry to see that all laws are duly respected and properly enforced, and that all duly authorized officials honestly perform their functions in this regard. And as government is conducted on strictly business principles, it follows that the business, above all other agencies of the nation, should demand the elimination of all favoritism and the candid enforcement of all statutes. It is only in this manner that all interests will be placed upon the same footing before the law. Unfortunately, the reverse is very often true; but business interests should know that a contrary course can but be finally suicidal.

Moreover, to protect the community against the perpetration of crime, a function of vast and indubitable value, the State inflicts great suffering upon those who may be dependent upon the culprit for existence. It cruelly and most indifferently robs these innocent dependents of their only support, and thus paves the way for their future participation in the same crime, it may be, which consigned their unfortunate benefactor to oblivion. A wise and just system of penalization would contemplate not only the protection of the community against the perpetration of crime, but the future restoration of the culprit to a useful life, and the proper and careful consideration of the needs of his innocent dependents. These three great desiderata are best secured by the establishment of large industrial reformatories where the inmates may be employed in some useful service to the State, for which they may be compensated at the same rate of wages commanded beyond the prison walls by the same character of service. This wage, after the deduction of the expense of the criminal's upkeep, should be paid over by the State to those formerly dependent upon him, or, in case he has no dependents or they are independent of his aid, which should be ascertained by careful investigation, be deposited to his credit as a new start in life on his release.

In this manner, not only may the culprit in most instances

be reformed and returned to an honorable life, but his family, or those dependent upon him, may be provided for by a humane State. To affirm these dependents are not proper wards of the State is to declare a palpable falsehood. The mothers and children of the nation must forever constitute its chief hope, and to disregard their just and urgent needs is beneath the dignity of a progressive democracy.

Nor should the young delinquent be housed under the same roof with the old and hardened criminal. This would be unjust to both ages, especially the young. Such a procedure would be reprehensible in the extreme, since it is practically equivalent to abandoning all hope of correcting the errant youth. Different institutions of the same character should be provided for the sexes and for the two extremes of life. To these unfortunates we owe no less than a new outlook upon life and a new chance at redemption.

Beyond the initial expense of construction and equipment, such institutions, if properly and economically conducted, would cost the State but little in comparison with the good effected; for the products of this labor could be marketed by the State at home or abroad at the market price for the same commodities from free institutions and industries. Thus there need be no hostile competition between free and prison products, unless the free products seek to unfairly monopolize the market by unlawful combines and thus oppress the people, in which case prison products would act as a wholesome and salutary check.

This penal system should apply in all crimes and misdemeanors requiring imprisonment, and, in the case of drug or alcoholic addicts, the offender should be managed with especial reference to his ultimate complete recovery. To this end, he should remain in confinement under constant supervision, until competent medical authority shall pronounce him cured, when he should be restored to a useful life in the community. Nor should the State abandon its unfortunate ward here, but should exert itself to secure for him useful employment beyond the prison wall that he may continue to provide for those depending upon him, and thus remain in that peaceful frame of mind so essential to an ultimate return of strength and solidarity of character.

A NATIONAL HEALTH DEPARTMENT

No efficient government can afford to ignore the health of its citizenry. Every effort should be made by the nation to prevent the importation of epidemical disease. If it is the duty of the State to protect its people against invasion by a foreign army, it is equally its duty to protect them against invasion by foreign pestilence; and if it is the duty of the nation to protect itself against foreign pestilence by preventing the importation of such contagion, it is equally just and right to protect its neighbors by preventing the exportation of its contagion to their shores. No fair and just nation can afford to do less. The dictates of plain justice demand this governmental attitude.

Further, as it is the duty of democracy to protect the people from internal sedition and rebellion, so it is also its duty to protect them from the possibility of infection from diseases originating in their midst.

To the end that these functions may be effectively carried out, the nation, through a well organized Health Department with its center at the national capital, should endeavor to educate its people in all the laws of sanitation, with a view to securing their willing aid and co-operation in the effective control and elimination of preventable diseases. The unnecessary suffering and the vast number of valuable lives annually sacrificed through the prevalence of avoidable infections constitute one of the most glaring defects of our democracy.

This Health Department should be under the direction of the most competent scientists and sanitarians of the nation, free from corrupt politics, and afforded every scientific facility for making all necessary researches in the field of preventive medicine. It should be controlled by legislation suggested and formulated by the wisest and most extensive experience in this field of labor, and so drawn as to cover every possible need with the least inconvenience and cost to the people.

Moreover, it is evident that the government, through its Health Department, should construct, equip, and maintain Suspect and Isolation Hospitals, Military and Marine Hospitals

for the proper care of its soldiers and sailors, Leper Homes, and Tuberculosis Hospitals for those unfortunate citizens who cannot afford proper treatment at home. Tuberculosis Hospitals should be of two kinds, those for incurable cases, and those for curable cases.

The institutions for incurable cases should be located in the most accessible part of the state, so that the inmates may be visited from time to time by their relations and friends; and erected on the most approved modern principles, and comfortably furnished and suitably maintained, that the closing days of these unfortunates may be made as tolerable as it is possible for them to be. We owe them no less. In the days of their health and vigor, many and perhaps most of these victims of incurable disease served their State faithfully and well. We cannot afford to neglect them in their hour of greatest extremity.

The institutions for curable cases should be located in those sections of the nation, scientifically recognized as most favorable to the cure of the disease; and nothing should be left undone to enhance the patient's chances for an early and complete recovery. No charges should be made for services to the indigent, but sufficient charge should be made for such service to wealthy subjects, desiring the scientific treatment in government hospitals, to meet the expense of their treatment and maintenance; and these receipts should be paid into the national treasury.

All the above institutions should not be thrown up in a haphazard way, but should be constructed with a view to their future enlargement, and in conformity with the consensus of the most scientific thought of the times, and placed under the management of the most conscientious and competent medical practitioners and scientific sanitarians, and under the vigilance of the most thorough surveillance. And any officer or inspector, failing to meet the requirements of law governing these institutions, should be punished by dismissal from office and a term of imprisonment. An officer or agent, who wilfully or carelessly neglects the reasonable demands of the helpless sick, deserves to be disgraced and deprived of liberty. Such practice stands next to murder in the category of crime.

The scientists of these institutions should not only apply their

genius to the rational treatment and cure of the inmates, but to the prevention and elimination of the diseases coming under their observation and care. For in the labors of such benefactors will the nation and the world be blessed.

Such obligations should not be left to the caprice of the private citizen's charitable impulses. If they are obligations at all and we must confess they are, they are the obligations of all the people and not those of a particular secular or ecclesiastical group, however altruistic its motive may be. While the state, or political sub-division, should contribute to the expense of these institutions, the responsibility is that of all the people, and the chief expense should be borne by the national treasury.

Under a uniform system of management, such as the nation alone can ensure, these institutions can be made noble instruments of service to our afflicted citizens.

The head of this Health Department should occupy a seat in the presidential cabinet, in order to more readily inform the Chief Executive and his official associates regarding the sanitary bearings of any proposed national enterprise of importance. The present United States Health Service, valuable as it is, is unequal to the complete fulfillment of this great function. The vast work of carrying the necessary machinery to protect the public health requires a separate department of government. But the officers of this department should be elective and not appointive. The appointive power is wrong in principle, as it deprives the people of the right to select their own servants. It is clearly a relic of former absolutism. If the people have the wisdom and right to choose their Chief Executive, they have the wisdom and right to select his subordinate associates. To affirm the reverse is to deny their power of self-government. The higher officers of this department should be elective, and all subordinate incumbents should be chosen by civil service examinations; and their tenure should depend upon their efficiency and good behavior.

The health authority should not be divided between the central power and subordinate political units. Nothing but conflict and failure can result from such a mongrel co-operation. The one or the other must surrender its administrative independ-

ence. The state authority in these matters must be subservient to the central power. Sanitary authority, like all other authority touching the vital interests of all the people, should reside in and be exercised through the central government.

But, under no circumstances, should such power be used for oppressive or tyrannical purposes. It should, on all occasions, be actuated by a spirit of fairness and candor toward the people; and should seek to secure their confidence and full co-operation in all efforts to preserve their health. And to still further secure these ends, the Health Department should seek the co-operation of the medical profession. The physician should be invited to give, when at all possible, the Whys and Wherefores of his instructions to the patient, so that the latter may come into a broader understanding of their import. In this way, the foundation will be laid for a more extensive educational propaganda by the government, and the people be led to assist in the work of preserving the public health. But in this public instruction, due distinction should be made between fact and theory. To give the people theory for fact is an unwise procedure. For most part, they do not make the necessary distinction, but accept both alike as unalterable truth. If time and experience should disprove the theory, as often occurs, the popular mind is thrown into confusion and doubt, and rendered less pervious to future fact. It is far better to draw a sharp and honest distinction between the two, so that no deception shall result. In this way only will the continued co-operation of the people be secured. They will be led by reasonable and common-sense principles only.

Such a national Health Department as suggested in the foregoing remarks, properly financed and equipped, would not only accomplish vast good in our country through the prevention of unnecessary suffering and the preservation of constructive energy, but its influence would be felt in the world at large; for it cannot be doubted that its successful example would eventually be emulated by all other enlightened nations. And through the world's combined action, we may reasonably hope for the day when preventable diseases shall be banished from the earth.

THE NECESSITY FOR PUBLIC MEETINGS

It is the right and duty of the citizen of democracy to freely and fearlessly discuss with his fellow citizens all questions touching the nation in its domestic and foreign relations. He may debate these questions on the thoroughfares, on the rostra of public lecture-rooms, on the floors of popular conventions, or on the platforms of mass meetings. It is only through such discussions that the people become fully familiar with public policies, and are able to vote intelligently on behalf of democracy and its principles. By the comparison and exchange of views in these public discussions, the popular mind grows in power and public opinion gains in strength.

The professional politician deprecates such discussions, since they presage a popular intelligence and vigilance he cannot control. He will, therefore, seek to discourage them whenever possible. Through publications of his own and others he can control, he will oppose all public meetings to be held for the discussion of important questions, by holding up to the people the inconvenience or expense of holding them, unless these meetings are to be held in his behalf, directly or indirectly. And when, in spite of his opposition, they are to be called, the demagogue always endeavors, through his henchmen, to control them, and where possible to stampede them in his direction. But he pales before the independent public meetings he cannot control. Intelligent independence of the people is fatal to demagogic ambition. A free and intelligent public cannot be led, but must be obeyed.

It is the right and duty of a democratic people to hold their public meetings in every municipality, county, and state, at regular intervals, to discuss and exchange views on all important questions pertaining to the welfare of the democracy, and to have present, when possible, their public servants, in order that they may be instructed in the people's wishes. The people are the served, the public officer the servant. How can he render proper service unless he be properly instructed by his master in what he is to do? The public meetings are

thus the preservers of democratic freedom and prosperity, and cannot be neglected without being followed by the decline of popular liberty. In these meetings all public questions should be discussed, not only those of local import but those also of national and international significance. No question is too great for a free people to study and discuss. To doubt their intelligence in this regard is to doubt their power of self-government—is to deny their democracy.

In these public discussions no matters of private or religious nature should be considered, unless they have been converted into public questions by being injected into the debates. The home and fireside are where all questions of a private or social character should be worked out; the church and altar, where the sacred matters of life should be thought out and applied to our present and future felicity. These two classes of questions should never find their way to the public hustings, and should be ignored when sporadically touched upon. But when the recognized authorities of religion tear these holy subjects from the church and altar, the sacred environment to which they appertain, and cast them into the maelstrom of public debate, thus making of them public questions, they should and will be debated like any other public question, in all their bearings. The only proper course for the exponents of religion to pursue, if they wish these subjects to escape vulgar attack, is to keep them out of politics and in the sacred environment of the church where they belong. Whenever religion forces itself into practical relationship with the democratic State, it will be freely, fearlessly and boldly discussed, just as any other public question will be. Nor can the Church complain. The Church thus invades the realm of the State, and not the State the realm of the Church. Upon the head of the transgressor should rest his sin.

Let the people of our nation return to their mass-meetings, as of old, and freely consider all matters pertaining to their interests. Let them regain control of their affairs, and see that they alone rule them. These great popular gatherings not only strengthen patriotism but buttress the Republic.

TO THE PROSPECTIVE IMMIGRANT

A word of advice to the prospective immigrant and foreign-born citizen may not be out of place here, especially at the present time when, on account of the lax enforcement of law everywhere, he is likely to become the victim of fraudulent agencies which will not fail to operate on both sides of the Atlantic. Against all such nefarious practices he must be on constant guard.

But there are certain prerequisites the prospective immigrant, or prospective citizen, must possess before he can be considered as available material. These prerequisites are three in number: suitable means, good health, and good moral character. The prospective immigrant must possess sufficient means to prevent him becoming a public charge. No man of pride can desire to become an object of charity to the nation whose welcome he seeks. He must possess sufficient to maintain himself in reasonable comfort until he can find employment.

Neither should a sick man attempt to migrate among strangers, and perhaps die neglected in a foreign land. The immigrant, who is afflicted with a contagious or incurable disease, should be candid and fair enough to refuse to impose himself upon the hospitality of strangers, and remain at home among friends and relatives. Of what possible benefit could he be to his adopted country? He should remember that in his new home he must give as well as receive. To receive all and give nothing is no part of a true and manly character. He must possess sufficient physical, mental, and moral robustness to enable him to do a man's part in his new field of labor; and if he is unable to do this, he should remain in his old home.

Again, he should be of good character. If he is a man of bad or dangerous character—of radical or seditious temperament—he should remain in his old home. America has no room for such a man. Of what benefit could he be to the people of the United States? If he were an American, would he willingly admit such a man? We welcome the honest, sane, and sincere man, it matters not whence he comes, provided he is of

our own race, but he must possess within himself the probabilities of good citizenship. We cannot afford to admit a man whose avowed or secret intention is to destroy us at the first opportunity. There are certain great principles that lie at the foundation of all orderly government and cannot be subverted without disastrous results to civilization. We cannot afford to admit into our own body politic a man who opposes the application of these fundamental principles. He must, of necessity, be opposed to all government—must, in other words, be an anarchist. How can any man of normal judgment and in the possession of an average knowledge of human nature, favor the abolishment of government? How otherwise would he control the discordant attributes of human nature? So long as man is man, he will require the restraint of government.

The foreigner who contemplates coming to America or becoming an American citizen must possess at least these three requisites.

But, having concluded himself, after careful self-examination, eligible, he may now take the next step in the direction of the coveted goal. He should apply through the diplomatic agency of his own government, or to the nearest American consul, for full information concerning the American immigration laws, and read them carefully, if he possesses sufficient knowledge of the English language himself, but if not, then have them read often enough by others to familiarize himself with their provisions. If he does not know sufficient English to read the language, he should set about earnestly to acquire it as it will enable him to understand the instructions that may from day to day during the voyage be posted for his benefit. He should complacently comply with every requirement of the law or its agents; and, by all means, manifest a patient, sane, manly attitude toward all concerned in his transportation. It never redounds to his advantage to evince a boisterous and contentious temperament on his voyage. Your host aboard ship, my foreign brother, will not fail to observe you and your manners, and report to the immigration agents at the end of the voyage.

In coming into the port of your debarkation, maintain the

same candid and manly attitude toward the government agents who have you in charge, that you assumed toward others on the voyage, and do not find fault with the management of your comforts. Remember there are many others beside yourself to be served, and patiently await the convenience of those attending you. Comply with every request of the authorities as, in so doing, you will greatly facilitate the necessary procedure and shorten the time of your detention. Do not join in any silly protest, or associate yourself on the voyage with any radical group you may have discovered.

When you have been examined, accepted and landed, busy yourself at once to find useful employment. Begin immediately to do a man's part, but beware of malcontents, radicals and impostors, who will certainly lie in wait for you. Keep free of all such destructive influences. They cannot possibly benefit you in your honest endeavors. They are never constructive, but always selfish and destructive, in purpose. You have a perfect right to join your worthy and sane associates in any laudable and lawful means to maintain your interests against the selfish aggrandizement of your more fortunate countrymen, but never the right to join in radical or anarchistic moves looking to the injury of your adopted country or countrymen.

Do not determine immediately upon citizenship. You cannot tell as yet whether or not you desire to become a citizen. This is no trivial matter. It is too serious an undertaking to be considered lightly. Wait until you have learned more about the country, its people, and its government. But, in the meantime, do not criticize. Remember that you are a self-invited guest, and have no right to find fault with the welcome of your generous host. Be grateful for the advantages granted you and do not forget that human nature is the same under every sun. Learn the English language as early as possible. This is absolutely necessary to your continued improvement. It is the chief and safest medium through which you are to derive the knowledge of your proper procedure.

Again I warn you to beware of all radical or anarchistic plots or parties. They will prove treasonable to you in the end. You have no right or excuse to enter into any conspiracy to

destroy your magnanimous host. If you do not like the country, its people, and its laws, you have perfect freedom to return to your native land. No one will attempt to detain you. We do not want a man who cannot be one of us. But you have no right to pull down the house that shelters you from the storm. There are people everywhere who will fail in life under any circumstances: these are the malcontents and anarchists. These are the people who would destroy all government, because forsooth it cannot be made perfect. You must avoid such if you would safeguard your own future.

Be fair to yourself and your employer, and give him an honest day's work. After your day's work is over, spend your evenings in the profitable study of your Bible, the English language, and other works of self-improvement. And do not neglect the national Constitution. Avoid all places of doubtful repute, saloons, gambling-houses, and other places of objectionable character. The fraudulent and enticing impostor is ever vigilant of his prey, especially the unwary foreigner. You will, of course, need recreation and entertainment, but let these be of a high character and such as, while entertaining you, will also assist in the development of your better nature. Seek, on all occasions, to build up your reputation for a just and impartial attitude toward all in your daily life. Do not forget to draw inspiration from your Sacred Book. It will help direct you in your daily life.

If, after you have fully informed yourself of the country, its people, and its laws, you decide to become a citizen thereof, you should repair to the proper authorities, make your declaration, and take out your papers of naturalization. Lose now no time in learning all you can about the political institutions of the country. And to do this you should study the national Constitution, which you will find at the close of this volume, next to your Sacred Book. This Constitution is an embodiment of our principles of government, and deserves the earnest consideration of every prospective citizen. Study these principles, then, and familiarize yourself with them. For they are to be your guides in serving your adopted country faithfully and well.

In the meantime, labor honestly and industriously for your wage, and save it for a future home and investment, in order that you may in due time take your place among the upright and responsible people of the community.

When you have at last been admitted into the citizenship of the nation, see to it that you fully appreciate the sacred trust the people have confided to your care. The ballot is the most honorable and sacred privilege the American people could possibly confer upon you. See that you keep it unsullied, and use it in the betterment of your adopted country. By all means, be an American freeman. Do not become a slave to party. Devote yourself to principle only. Study carefully the issues involved in public elections and cast your ballot as your candid judgment dictates. Remember that the welfare of the entire community and nation demands your ballot, not your personal interests. You have no right to expect favoritism in the enactment and enforcement of law, but must, as an honest citizen, be content to share with your fellow citizens in their prosperity and in their adversity.

Do not allow the cunning politician to deceive you in the exercise of your right of franchise. He only insults the citizen when he attempts to buy or bribe his vote. As a free and manly man, you cannot afford to allow him to approach you. Turn from him and walk away with head erect and with face squarely before you. Be sure he does not reach you through your friends or acquaintances. This is one of his favorite methods. He may use your friends to persuade you, without their knowing his purpose. Your only salvation lies in fearless independence. Vote always on conscience—as though it were your last act upon earth—and you can then make no mistake. You may differ with your neighbor in political opinions, but this does not make you right and him wrong, or vice versa. Do your own voting and let your neighbor do his. You are casting your ballot with the aid of the best light at your disposal, and no more can reasonably be expected of you. Once again, be wary of the political demagogue. He is rarely worthy, and, for the most part, a selfish time server. In every democracy, there are many of his kind. It is in this fertile soil

that such obnoxious plants send their deepest roots and find most luxuriant growth. Be on constant guard against such growths that they do not stifle or smother the nobler and truer plants in our national garden. But you must not understand that all officeholders belong to this class. Our noblest and best men are called to serve their country, but all who appear to serve their country in office are not always our best men. Learn that the office should seek the man, and not the man the office.

Devote yourself to the simple principles of true democracy, but turn from its spurious monstrosities as poisonous distortions of the faith. There are many political vagaries today which masquerade in the garb of democracy. Beware of these specious and frantic doctrines. For these political cults to succeed, God must make man over—must change his entire nature. They lead at last to the most cruel despotisms. Be not deceived. Your hope lies in action along the lines of sane and wholesome experience.

Then, there is another matter to which I desire to call your attention. I refer to the custom many foreigners, and even foreign-born citizens, have of segregating themselves into separate foreign groups. I need not tell you this is an un-American practice which no amount of argument can excuse. To segregate themselves as hyphenated Americans into certain groups, in order to serve certain foreign interests, is unfriendly in the extreme and stops little short of treason. No man can be a citizen of his native land and a citizen of America at the same time. It is impossible to be on both sides of a fence at the same time. When an American citizen of foreign birth finds he can no longer remain faithful to his adopted country, he is duty bound as a true and manly man to return to the land of his nativity. It is a very grave and doubtful procedure to confer the franchise upon the adult foreigner, for it is exceedingly difficult to divest himself of his former ideals, but our best publicists have thought it best to grant it. But such a citizen descends to the lowest form of treason when he turns his back on his adopted country, but still wears the habiliments of faithful citizenship only to obtain a better vantage ground from which to thrust the murderous dagger into the vitals of

his generous and hospitable host. Oppose with all the earnestness of your nature all such groupings and their efforts to inculcate foreign languages, culture and religions. Such heterogeneity cannot result in good to your adopted country. It is a specious propaganda, in most instances, to weaken and finally destroy the kindly hand that nourishes the needy.

Finally, as years pass, and you have grown into a splendid American manhood, you may be called by your appreciative fellow citizens to serve them in some official capacity. If so, do your best for them, and never neglect your duty as an officer. Be frank, fair, courteous and honest on all occasions, and ever remember that you are the servant and not the master of the people; but in all cases enforce the law.

Accept this advice in the spirit in which it is given, and may Fortune favor and attend you.

AMERICANIZATION

(True Americanism is a condition of body, mind, and spirit rarely reached in a state of perfection.) It is a steady and endless growth, and the oldest and best citizen may never attain to its full realization. It can only be approximately reached by the majority of those who are deeply interested in the fortunes of their country. Only our profoundest political philosophers and statesmen enter into a full knowledge of its arcanum. The great majority of us must be content with watching its reflections.

If this is true of the citizen, how much more difficult it must be for the foreigner to grasp the full import of these principles. The Americanization of the prospective citizen thus becomes a most important function of the democracy. We have practically from the foundation of our government opened our doors to an unlimited foreign immigration. Peoples from all nations, seeking to better their lives, have come to our shores, bringing with them the ideals and impressions of their native lands. In these migrations certain elements have followed their innate promptings, while others have been encouraged by influences of a selfish nature. In order that a certain group of citizens may secure cheap labor in the conduct of their affairs, the State legalizes and encourages an excess of foreign immigration, thus enfranchising a large mass of alien population, little acquainted with the form or spirit of our national institutions, and serving as a corrupting influence upon contending political factions or parties through the venal disposition of the sacred ballot. (Instead of limiting immigration to the urgent needs of the country, and to such as may be properly assimilated and converted into a true citizenship, unlimited numbers from every land are imported, to the injury of themselves and the undoing of their adopted country.

(This unwise dilution of the citizenship can but be finally fatal to patriotism and the best interests of the State. This shortsighted policy must eventually lead to the disruption of the State adopting it; for it is not conceivable that a hetero-

geneity of national spirit will continue to center around the former ideals. The old ideals, in such circumstances, must change and mold themselves to the new national thought, the one or the other predominating, according to the relative virility of the thinking factors. It thus frequently comes about that the nation is completely foreignized and loses all its former characteristics, finally degenerating, through the lack of patriotic spirit, into a lawless community in which all power for self-government is lost, and a despotic and tyrannical oligarchy is substituted for a liberal and beneficent democracy.

These facts do not necessarily operate to the disparagement of the quality of the foreigners admitted, but spring from the very nature of man. Thirst for material gain is inherent in the human heart. Man does not seek more liberty, as a rule, when he leaves his native land, but more wealth whereby he hopes to enjoy more of the world's comforts and influence. He is, therefore, not so much interested in the character of the adopted nation's political institutions as in its material resources. The former he will be likely to ignore, if he can acquire the latter. Having little knowledge of or interest in the political requirements of the nation he has ostensibly espoused, he readily disposes of his newly acquired power to the highest bidder for favor or preferment in his particular line of industry. A venal element is thus injected into the body politic, which cannot fail to corrupt ambitious demagogues and selfish office-seekers.

Instead of proceeding immediately to instruct and educate these new citizens in the principles of our government, with a view of making them desirable and useful electors, we have cast them an easy prey into the hands of the designing demagogue who marshals and marches them to the polls, to cast an ignorant ballot in the undermining of the nation they have sworn to support. To facilitate the desired education, in the interval between his declaration of intention to become a citizen and the day of his final naturalization, the foreigner should be compelled to undergo instruction in the principles and functions of democracy. For the first six months of this period, he should be compelled to attend night school where he should

be taught English and something concerning free institutions, and to this end, he should be required to keep the government informed of his whereabouts. On making a change of residence, he should be required to notify the proper authorities of such intention, so that the government may be able to pursue without interruption its policy of education.

After this brief period of preparation, the prospective citizen should be required to attend regular lectures on Americanism and the principles for which it stands. The government should employ competent public instructors whose duty it should be to compulsorily call the foreign elements, seeking citizenship, in mass-meetings throughout the nation, in order to teach the principles of democracy as expressed in our national Constitution, the purpose and purity of the ballot, and the sanctity of patriotism and civic responsibility. Such teaching should not be spasmodic, under which circumstances it is likely to fail, but regular and persistent; and such teachers should be selected from among the purest patriots of the nation, who, knowing the full importance of their task, devote their energies and consecrate their lives to its accomplishment.

Such public instruction would stimulate the new citizen's pride in himself and his adopted country, and lead him into an honest and faithful use of the ballot. He would then no longer be a plaything in the hands of the selfish politician, but an honest and patriotic American citizen, walking with calm visage and head erect among his peers.

The public press, useful as it is as a public educator, cannot be wholly relied upon to accomplish this desideration. Its function lies along somewhat different lines. The government only, by overcoming opposition of selfish politics which would be certain to rise against such a procedure, can undertake this important work.

Such educational activity by the government could not fail to create a nobler citizenship and a better country. Some such system of Americanization, properly elaborated, must be established; and apparently very soon, if we are to retain our national identity, and not become a mere shadow of what we once were. Let the people beware of opposition to Americanizing the foreigner; there is design in such propaganda.

AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE LEAGUE

No nation can live to itself alone. The modern bonds of intercourse among nations render the isolation of any particular nation impossible. Water, air, and ether have conspired to bring the nations of the world into neighborly relations, and to indicate the approaching confraternity of human life. Every nation is thus more or less dependent upon every other, whether it wills or not. The blending of the world's thought and feeling impels men toward mutual harmony. How important, then, that cordial and friendly relations should characterize the mutual conduct of governments. If the governing bodies are truly representative of the people they are supposed to faithfully serve, they should recognize this trend of thought, and serve accordingly. It is highly necessary that governments should be more acutely responsive to the popular will. They should more deeply appreciate they are but the servants and not the masters of the people. Nevertheless, the spirit of ancient absolutism is not yet entirely dead, and in every government its relics linger to retard the wheels of progress. The evolution of government, like that of civilization, is extremely slow. It is a toilsome march which leads toward the broader and more liberal life of the world, but we are on the way.

The physical, intellectual, and spiritual development of man must be effected chiefly through the instrumentality of government. It is the paramount duty of government to foster the happiness and progress of the citizen. This obligation is defeated by waging destructive war, except in the emergency of national defense or in the protection and preservation of a great principle; but is favored and facilitated by a harmonious and friendly co-operation of the world powers to this end. But this friendly co-operation will be attainable only when frankness, truth, and justice shall characterize international relations, and mutual confidence be thereby established among the world's commonwealths. It is right, then, that every nation should maintain a frank and impartial attitude toward every other, and avoid all subterfuge and hypocrisy in its international

dealings. To this end, the citizens of one nation should, under no circumstances, be allowed to carry on propaganda in another, except at its earnest solicitation, and then only reluctantly. Such propaganda, by injecting extraneous sentiment and sometimes passion into the established and customary channels of national thought, may conflict with and ultimately defeat the benevolent policies of the State thus invaded, and lead to hostile feelings if not action. Such procedure is meddlesome and practically malicious, and should be rigorously prohibited. There can be no effectual international co-operation in the interest of peace and good-will among the nations so long as there is international suspicion and distrust. Mankind will have to require fair dealing on the part of governments if it is ultimately to enjoy the blessings of a lasting peace, steady progress, and perpetual liberty.

Some happy concert of action looking to the establishment of an effective system for settling international disputes and avoiding the disaster of destructive war is obligatory upon the world. And no time is more auspicious for beginning these advanced endeavors than the present when the world lies bleeding and impoverished by the most cruel and unconscionable war of all history. Every nation should join with freedom and fairness every other in a peace and good-will league, binding itself to use its strength and wealth to suppress lawless and war-like aspirations wherever and whenever they may arise. The passive recognition of the principle will avail nothing; only its active and positive application will be followed by the desired results. Such a league of nations in the interest of peace and progress could not fail to secure far-reaching results in the advancement of the world's affairs.

To the true statesmen of the period must be confided this great task. They alone must solve the problem, and the solution must follow the lines of present and past experience. In every well-ordered State the citizen is required to submit his differences to an impartial tribunal. He is not allowed to run amuck, and disturb the calm and serenity of the community, but must rely for justice in his cause upon the authorized tribunal; and when that tribunal has reached its decision, the police

power of the State enforces it. This principle, so essential to the lawful well-being of the State and the happiness of its people, should be extended by international agreement to affect the welfare of the sisterhood of nations. Why should a nation be allowed to run amuck and destroy the calm and serenity of its neighbors, or overwhelm the peace of the world? Why should mankind suppress recalcitrance in the citizen and encourage it in the nation? Do not its welfare and progress require that both should subscribe to ethical principles? How is it possible for humanity to advance uninterruptedly along the path of its destiny, so long as the life and labors of the individual are ruthlessly destroyed by the military ambition of the nation—a segregated mass of his fellows? If it is well for the individual to subscribe to ethical law, why is it not even better for the nation to do so? We rightly punish the individual for taking human life, but wrongly glorify and bless the nation for murdering its millions. The same ethical principles should and eventually will rule in the life of both. Individual judgment may collapse for reasons that are apparent, but the collective judgment of the nation, buttressed as it is by the guiding precepts of history, may not fail without just retribution.

Neither can a nation stand aloof from such a beneficent concert of powers without subjecting itself to merited criticism—without bringing itself under justifiable suspicion and distrust. The collapse of the recent endeavor to create an international peace league is one of the most unfortunate and discouraging events in the history of the world. We may scan in vain the pages of human annals for a comparable calamity. The great war just ended was a struggle between the liberal and the reactionary forces of the world. The remaining absolutism of former periods, under the direction of a military caste, undertook the restoration of the old order, and to subject the world to it. Secret preparedness gave these forces great advantage over the peaceful and unprepared forces of progress, and after a war of more than three years, they began their final drive to complete the overthrow of popular liberty. It was in this crisis that the appeal for help reached America. Though distant from the theatre of action, she did not hesitate

in the course to pursue, but, marshaling her best and noblest blood, rushed to the rescue, and on many famous fields fought the victorious battles for world freedom. She had no material or selfish ambitions to satisfy, but spent her treasure and spilt her blood for a great principle—that mankind might be free and that all nations, great and small, might enjoy the fruits of liberty, either independently where they were able to enforce these principles, or under the protection and guidance of older and more experienced nations, if their own experience in the science of efficient government was unequal to the great task of conducting with success the destinies of their peoples.

The war was thus brought to an end, and the reactionary autocracies were suppressed. Now came up the question of some scheme by which a repetition of this great disaster to the world might in future be prevented. This desideratum was to be one of the chief fruits of victory. The leadership in this great move was by all conceded to America, the champion of liberty and human rights. She was now regarded as the defender of the weak and oppressed everywhere, and the eyes of the world were turned to her as savior and guide. It would be difficult to overestimate the esteem in which she was universally held. Even envy kept herself aloof. Only honor and glory attended her. After much discussion, influenced more or less as was natural by old prejudices, recent passions, and selfish interests, the scheme finally took the form of a constitution of a league of nations, under whose provisions war was to be prevented and the happiness and safety of the world safeguarded. This League of Nations was to perpetuate, as far as it was humanly possible to do so, the blessings of peace in the family of nations. But soon discordant voices were heard on the American side of the Atlantic, and these grew more strident as time went by. These voices were raised in obedience to a spirit of selfish party partisanship and personal animus against the American spokesman in the peace conference. Desirous of doing all possible to please American sentiment, the nations in conference agreed to rewrite the Constitution, and so adjust it as to remove all objections brought against it. To assist in this work, the President absented himself from the conference

and returned home, in order to present the facts at close range to the people; and after explaining the salient provisions of the League Constitution and obtaining all information possible regarding any doubts thereto, he returned to Paris and with his colleagues resumed the labor of perfecting the instrument. When the new text was prepared, it was duly signed by the conferees and promptly referred to their respective governments for ratification. In due time, this was effected by all the allied nations except America, who killed it in the senate and thus cast in ruins the hopes of mankind. Who can adequately appreciate the shock, consternation, and despair, into which this act threw the world? It saw the return of old conditions, and the necessity of bearing new burdens in preparation for future wars in which it will again be called upon to sacrifice the blood of its best sons. Is it any wonder that it has fallen into Chaos? The steadying hand has been withdrawn, and there is a scramble for what may be gained. Mankind will, indeed, be fortunate if universal unrest and war do not supervene. And all this by America, the champion of liberty, who fought so valiantly and strove so well for perpetual world peace!

It is but natural that there should be a revulsion of sentiment against us. For to us must be attributed much of the world's governmental unrest. The Peace League is not dead, it is true, but moribund and can linger only a brief period unless America comes to the rescue. The League in form and name may continue, but it will not be a peace league but a military league, which will be actuated by the same old warlike spirit of former times—the curse of the world. And since America has repudiated the principle of universal and perpetual peace by refusing to enter a scheme by which an effort was to be made to enforce it, it is but natural that she would be regarded as a possible future enemy. The machinery of the proposed Peace League may thus eventually be turned into an instrument of war against its once greatest and most powerful proponent. Is this an impossibility? Let us reflect.

Our attitude is anything but creditable. An illustration may more clearly demonstrate it: In a peaceful and prosperous

community, whose future appeared to be in every way secure, there arose an unforeseen conflict which almost destroyed it. The trouble began when a certain group of its citizens, more aggressive and reactionary than the rest, conspired to control and exploit their neighbors. They formed a mutual understanding and quietly went about making preparations to carry out their designs; and when they considered themselves ready for the enterprise, they proceeded to undertake the work.

The peaceable neighbors, though in the majority, not apprehending such danger, were not prepared for it and were therefore at great disadvantage. However, they soon recovered from the shock and responded heroically to the defense of their interests, including not only their material possessions but their freedom as well; and for a time kept at bay the triumphant advance of the enemy. But there came a time at last when they were exhausted, and the superior preparation of their antagonists made their cause desperate. When all was apparently lost, they appealed to Jones, who lived some distance away and had hitherto taken but a modest part in community affairs. Not that he was indifferent to such interest but that he was busy with his own immediate affairs and was willing to leave the conduct of general affairs in large measure to his neighbors. But Jones, who was a young and powerful man, with ample means to secure all the requisites of defense, now perceived that if his peaceable neighbors were overthrown, he would be the next victim; and to save himself and them and to prevent a recurrence of such danger in the future, threw himself into the fray and, by his young and fresh strength, beat back the reactionary group and won the conflict. All eyes were at once turned upon Jones as the hero of the struggle and all were willing to follow his lead as champion of the community rights. He and his allied neighbors at once proceeded to disarm their enemies and to put them in that condition in which, it is believed, they could not become a future menace to the peaceful community. Moreover, Jones now suggested that, in order to protect the peace, order, and respectability of the community against the possibility of such disorderly recurrences, all peaceable citizens come to a mutual understanding and agree to co-

operate to that end. After some hesitancy, all finally agreed that the project was a worthy one and, to make the agreement effective, drew up a written document in which all agreed to do their respective parts in carrying out the purpose in view.

On the day set for the allied neighbors to sign the agreement, they all did so except Jones, who refused upon the flimsy excuse that his personal interests and freedom would suffer too much, notwithstanding the fact that he was the chief advocate of the scheme and had the principal part in drawing up the written agreement. Is it not natural that the allies of Jones would look askance at his action? It is not natural that Jones, who thus repudiated his own work, would be regarded with suspicion by his former associates? And inasmuch as he rejected the only measure deemed fit to prevent future disturbances, is he not likely to be regarded as a possible future enemy? And, under such circumstances, would he not be likely to be classed with the troublesome neighbors as one to be watched, and against whom the others might at some time be compelled to act?

Jones should have gone into the league and done his part as a faithful and true citizen and ally in preserving the peace, harmony, and freedom of his fellow citizens, realizing that his welfare was bound up in theirs, and that they could not suffer without his feeling the same pangs.

The attitude of Jones toward his trusting neighbors and the community is that of ourselves toward our trusting allies and the world. We cannot afford to let such an opportunity pass. It is the opportunity of all time. No such favor has been conferred by Providence upon a nation since the beginning of history. We have the opportunity to be forever blessed or forever cursed by mankind. We cannot be censured for protecting our vital interests, but we must do our part of the world's great work. No self-respecting nation can afford to do less. Let us return to stricken humanity the helping hand we have withdrawn, and assist in staying the onrush of the destructive tide. Let us not fail to meet the just demands of the world crisis. Let us not tempt the subtle currents of retribution. Let it not be said our dead have died in vain. Let us not disgrace their

silent bivouacs by repudiating the principles for which they fought and died. God grant us clearness of vision to see aright the sacred responsibilities which devolve upon us.

It is only by some system as that now under consideration, properly wrought out by the wise and unselfish statesmanship of the age, that the world will eventually be enabled to convert its battleships into merchant vessels, its engines of destruction into those of construction, to dismantle its fortifications, disband its armies, and turn its warlike energies from the channels of ruthless devastation into those of prosperity, progress, and peace. Such a benevolent system would avoid wholesale human slaughter, and secure the blessings of universal peace, liberty, equality, and fraternity among the peoples and nations of the world, and expedite the final settlement of the huge war debts now heaped upon the bent shoulders of weakened mankind.

No passive application of the principle will ever achieve aught of value; only its positive and determined exercise can avail on behalf of world peace.

THE PERILS OF DEMOCRACY

The foregoing are some of the chief functions of our democracy to which the people should direct their attention. As civilization advances new functions of government will present themselves requiring to be met by the intelligent citizen.

As already intimated in the preceding remarks, the efficient democracy is the ideal form of government; but is the most difficult to maintain in its purity. Here the people rule directly over their affairs and are alone responsible for the results. If they maintain their intelligence and patriotic devotion, the results of their administrative efforts are seen in their rapid advancement? But under the sway of a corrupt oligarchic democracy, which is sure to develop from popular indifference and neglect, the nation fares no better than under the galling yoke of the despot. Instead of one depraved ruler to serve there are many whose rapacity and avarice must be considered and composed if, indeed, it is in the power of a people to do so. Conspiracy and assassination, under such a régime, are the order of the day; and the public treasury is plundered to fill the private purse. Class legislation, with all its attending evils, is the main support of such a State.

To retain their power, which is their only weapon of defense, corrupt officials willingly debauch the citizen through the practice of secret bribery or direct or indirect threat upon his life or property, or curry his favor by bestowing upon him unearned benefits or unmerited privileges. The appeals of the poor classes are completely ignored, or answered by an unjust penalization, involving only too often an indefinite loss of liberty. The laws, in most instances, are not only framed with a view to special privilege, but are enforced with partiality. The poor receive the full pressure of unwise legislation, while the rich and powerful are assisted in escaping their due proportion of responsibility to the State, and may even be aided in increasing their wealth, which is, in many instances, ill gotten, at the expense of their less fortunate fellow citizens, through pilfering the people by every species of legalized extortion.

Public education is neglected, and the mental and ethical training of the people declines and ultimately reaches a state in which cowardly and supine submission to oppression and tyranny is accepted without protest or complaint. The purest and best citizens, imbued with the insatiable greed of the hour, and fearing lest some material advantage may escape them, often willingly lend themselves to unethical procedures which, in their collective effects, gradually sap the wholesome and healthful spirit of the national life and ultimately initiate a steady and fatal decline; and such citizens, to justify their conduct in this regard, often unhesitatingly attempt to excuse the unfortunate national situation to which they themselves have so unwisely and unpatriotically contributed.

The judiciary ceases to be what it was intended to be—a system for meting out impartial justice to all—and becomes a servile instrument for the distribution of a destructive favoritism. Instead of all men being equal before the law, under the operation of a corrupt judiciary, bribery, and political favoritism defeat the ends of justice, and the culprit goes scot free or escapes with a minor penalty for his offense, while the innocent is often penalized in heavy damages or is proportionately bereft of his liberty. Under the procedure of such a judiciary, justice becomes a travesty, and the court becomes an auxiliary partisan machine. Nor is this all. Patriotism and respect for law sicken and die under the instillation of the subtle poison of civic injustice, and the citizen finally looks with indifference or contempt upon his responsibility to the State, as he joins in the mad rush for pelf and power. Public office, instead of being a public trust, becomes a private gain and the corrupt instrument for popular oppression; while the officeholder, instead of being the willing servant of the community, arrogates to himself the prerogative of master, and too often proceeds to show his power by an arrogant and haughty treatment of those who placed him in authority. Moreover, he abuses his authority by extending favors to political or other adherents, to the detriment and injury of the public service. This exploitation of public office for private gain is a fatal blow at the liberties of the people, and should be penalized under the

severest enactments. These officers are frequently men of the most mediocre character; and while many of them are of naturally benevolent temperament, they are mostly unable to reach the high level of real patriotism in its true significance. The service thus rendered must necessarily be of a mediocre nature. Nor can it be otherwise, since its quality must depend upon the quality of the intelligence rendering it. Through ignorance more than from unethical considerations, these officers often use their influence with mediocre legislatures to create unnecessary positions for their political associates and friends, thus greatly increasing the burdens of taxation, and absorbing large sums that could be used in public improvements and in bettering those already in existence. This practice not only allows these officers to appear grateful to their political adherents, but increases their voting power by these new accessions of strength. The democracy should seek the best and most intelligent citizens as public servants, and grant sufficient salaries to enable them to give their full time and undivided energies to the public service. Moreover, these officers, from the highest to the lowest, should lose their right to vote during their tenure. They naturally will use their voting power to continue their tenure of office, and may thus defeat the wishes of the people. They should be disfranchised on entering office and reinfranchised on leaving it. In no other way, may the people protect themselves against such imposition or abuse of power.

Again, such a corrupt system of government fosters the growth of a dangerous class consciousness and group selfishness whereby a hodgepodge of conflicting sentiment is substituted for the harmony of a true national spirit. The wealthy classes or groups assume a superiority over the law, while the poorer classes or groups take an attitude of defiance of organized authority; and both despise the rights of the people. Instead of being the impartial governor of all classes, and forcing them into a willing obedience to the State, such an administration, by cowardly cajoling here and placating there, finally succeeds in bringing all classes into mutual conflict and hostility toward the legal authority.

Under such a corrupt régime, the favored citizen, to enhance his pecuniary gain, is legalized to speculate in the food materials of the people and other necessities of their daily life, or to dispense to his weak fellow citizen a poison which not only robs him of his life and honor, but pauperizes and debases those dependent upon him. The State, if such a society can be properly called a State, to fill its coffers, too often depleted by dishonest practices, willingly legalizes the destruction of its citizenry by permitting the manufacture and sale of noxious and habit-forming drugs and beverages, which invariably lead to the lowering of their efficiency and to the final debasement of the commonwealth through the perpetration of every species of crime; and, in the punishment of such a citizen for the perpetration of a crime to which the State itself has largely contributed, it not only deprives him of his liberty, a very correct procedure in most instances, but it also deprives him of his ability to contribute to the necessities of those dependent upon him, just as if they also were particeps criminis and deserved the same penalty and were not sufficiently abased in the unfortunate fate of the head or member of the household. The real democracy will rise above such ruinous practices.

Behind the dais of this faithless political power stalks the grim specter of a cunning ecclesiasticism which always was and always will be the inseparable partner of oppression and tyranny. This is true irrespective of religion, creed or historical period. It intrenches itself behind the ramparts of the corrupted commonwealth and, through the creation of class legislation, the subsidizing or intimidating of the public press, and the distortion of the real functions of the public educational systems, steadily encroaches upon the religious prerogatives of the citizen until he has been shorn of his inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. Not only does it arrogate to itself the right to dictate the religious thought and policy of the nation, but, in all ages, has assumed to dominate the political direction of the State, to control the administration of public affairs, to the end that its ruinous purposes may be fully carried out. Down with liberalism and up with reactionism is now the slogan of the hour.

The oppressive mandates of the tyrannous ruling class are forced upon a suffering people through the influence of a monstrous hierarchy which adds to the power of cunning persuasion the pretended will of God. Absolutism in religion like Absolutism in government has ever been the most potent paralyzant to human progress and development.

Insidiously and relentlessly, like the mighty glacier in its descent from the mountain top, this cyclone of national pollution moves on its way destroying the noblest landmarks of popular government and sweeping it, finally, along with all it means to human happiness, into the vortex of common ruin. This subtle power, this creeping paralysis, eventually pervades and perverts every phase of national life, and what was once a free and spirited people becomes a horde of cringing slaves to a corrupt union of Church and State. The mace of the despot and the crozier of the prelate now wave with relentless sway over a fallen race.

Such is the tyranny of the religious concept, without reference to age, creed or sect, when corrupted from its true mission. Such is the penalty of an indifferent electorate. Such is the final punishment of a people who attribute more importance to material gain than to intellectual and spiritual development. Such is the retribution inflicted by Providence upon an unworthy and degenerate race, who, ignoring all intuitional and inspirational right, worship exclusively at the throne of Mammon.

Such a corrupt democracy, maimed and crippled in every member, moves on for a time under the impetus of its own momentum, then collapses and falls, burying under its ruins the unworthy citizenship who failed to defend and support its true principles. Let the worthy citizen, under whatever form of democracy he may reside, endeavor always to promote the true principles of that government, and to counteract the rise of evil and vicious tendencies which, through his indifference and neglect, may develop into destructive forces, ultimately eventuating in the dissolution of the nation he has sworn to protect and support. No citizen who has the right to call himself such can escape this responsibility or afford to ignore the vital demands of his country. He cannot afford to be deceived

into believing the temporary prosperity of his country is a permanent blessing. He must know that every nation will sooner or later require the citizen's willing sacrifice, in what degree will depend upon the character of the emergency arising.

In view of all the dangers that lurk along the pathway of national life, especially of democracies, it is not likely that the great Republic, of which we have the honor to be citizens, will be fortunate enough to always escape the foregoing perils. As they have impeded the progress and imperiled the life of every democracy of past history, it is not logical for us to expect that we alone shall have our course uncontested. Our great nation will sooner or later certainly be compelled to thread its perilous way along the uncertain channel of governmental destiny, flanked as it will be on either side by the frowning evils of Scylla and Charybdis. There is much, however, in the nature of our government and the spirit of our people to lend strength to a reasonable expectancy that our nation will pass the ordeal unscathed. In the first place, our system of popular government is founded upon the inalienable rights of men to an exalted life, a rational liberty, and the pursuit of a lofty and altruistic felicity, springing from the consciousness that all men are equal before the law and in the right to opportunity. In fact, our democracy is based upon the indestructible principles which underlie the Divine Government of the universe, and thus has within itself the elements of permanency. The blessings of opportunity are presented by our Republic to every citizen, high or low. He may accept or reject them. That is a matter that concerns him alone. Whether he shall rise to the highest honors within the gift of the nation, or be content to labor in an humbler field of usefulness, is left entirely to his efforts and capacity. If he fails to realize the full scope of his ambition or a full measure of success and prosperity, he must attribute his failure to his own shortcomings or to the fickleness of fortune rather than to the essential nature of the government under which he lives. Not only is the door of opportunity thrown open to every citizen, but he is even prepared to avail himself of it. Great public schools and state universities extend to him the priceless gift of a liberal education and thus invite him to higher and more splendid achievements.

Every citizen, through energy and economy, also may acquire a reasonable share of the world's comforts, and thus add to his happiness and usefulness in the community.

Moreover, no disturbing force is hurled between him and the God he worships. On the contrary, perfect freedom of religious worship and belief is guaranteed to every citizen. This is an inalienable right under our Constitution.

It will thus be seen that every normal material, mental and spiritual aspiration of man is encouraged and developed by our system of government, and that that government, by its benevolent activities, favors the creation of the noblest expression of human life. Under its humane auspices we may live in security of life, liberty and property, and in the enjoyment of that full measure of individual freedom and civic liberty, so essential to individual happiness and national progress. But it cannot afford to ignore the shortcomings of the citizen. While it strives to bring into expression and action the best qualities of the citizen, it nevertheless lays its repressive hand on the obstructive evils of human nature and subjects them to a logical and necessary control. Less than this could not be expected of a strong and efficient system of government.

Then, again, the spirit of our people is such as to lead us to hope for a perpetuity of our institutions. Hailing from every land, they are familiar with the evils of the several forms of government to which they were subject, and are, therefore, more likely to combat these evils whenever they tend to arise in their new homes. Under the pride and stimulus of increased freedom and prosperity which they are permitted to enjoy through the willing beneficence of their adopted country and to which they were, in large measure, strangers under their native governments, they rapidly rise from the desuetude of depressing poverty to the exhilaration of liberty and independence, and thus contribute their new spirit and virile zeal to the further advancement of our civilization. But this is true only when, by proper education and national training, we have converted the newcomer into a true American. Then only does he become fully impressed with the responsibilities and duties of American citizenship, and is thus transformed from a careless

and indifferent observer into an ardent lover and defender of the principles of free democracy.

By extending to the foreigner, already within our gates, a most hearty welcome, and bestowing upon him the proper education of both head and heart and at the same time demanding of him unflinching fidelity to our institutions, we may look with becoming confidence to the continuance of those political truisms which lie at the foundation of all free, humane and orderly government, because we can depend upon such a new citizenry to support and defend these great principles which have contributed so bountifully to their happiness and prosperity. Such a patriotic people, profoundly impressed with the sense of manly responsibility to the government they have sworn to support, will strive by all fair and energetic means to remove all obtruding evils from the pathway of democratic progress, and to bring that form of government at last into that state of perfection in which all men shall be vouchsafed the largest measure of rational liberty and material and spiritual development. In this direction our Republic has ever led; and as it has in the past carried the beacon of progress, so may it in the future continue to hold aloft the torch of enlightened liberty to oppressed mankind wherever they may suffer or toil upward toward the light.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

(Adopted in 1787)

PREAMBLE

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I. THE LEGISLATIVE, OR LAW-MAKING POWER

Section I. Congress in General

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section II. The House of Representatives

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section III. The Senate

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof,¹ for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Section IV. How Senators and Representatives shall be chosen, and when they are to meet

1. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section V. Rules of Procedure

1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall con-

¹Some persons believe that United States Senators should be elected by the people at large, as Governors of States are elected. To do this would require an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, but under present laws a State can indicate its choice for Senator at what is called a primary. The result of such a primary, while not legally binding upon the legislature is considered as morally binding.

stitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Section VI. Compensation, Privileges, and Restrictions

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States.¹ They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Section VII. Mode of Passing Laws

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him,

¹At present both Senators and Representatives receive \$7500 annually, with an additional allowance for clerk hire, stationery, and traveling expenses.

the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section VIII. Powers granted to Congress

The Congress shall have power:

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in

which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section IX. Powers denied to the Federal Government

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Section X. Powers denied to the States

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. THE EXECUTIVE, OR LAW-ENFORCING POWER

*Section I. The President, the Vice-President, and the
Presidential Electors*

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

2. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.¹

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.²

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.³

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States.”

¹Clause 3 has been omitted here, since its provisions, governing the method of the selection by the electors of the President and the Vice-President, have been changed by Article XII of the Amendments, adopted in 1804.

²In 1886, Congress passed the Presidential Succession Act.

³The first salary act, 1789, fixed the President's salary at \$25,000 a year; in 1873 this was changed to \$50,000, and in 1909 to the present salary, \$75,000. In addition Congress pays certain expenses connected with the White House, and makes other allowances for expenses incidental to the presidential office.

Section II. The Powers of the President

1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer¹ in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section III. The Duties of the President

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section IV. Impeachment

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. THE JUDICIAL, OR LAW-INTERPRETING POWER

Section I. The Federal Courts

The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and

¹The President is authorized by Congress, subject to the confirmation of the Senate, to appoint a cabinet, which consists at the present time of the secretaries of the following departments: State, War, Treasury, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce and Labor, and of the Attorney-General and the Postmaster-General. Each of these is at the head of an important executive branch of the Government. Cabinet officers, therefore, are assistants to the President. The Cabinet as a whole acts as an advisory body to the President.

shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section II. Their Powers and Jurisdiction

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.¹

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crime shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section III. What Treason is, and how it shall be punished

1. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATES AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Section I. State Authority to be recognized

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section II. Privileges and Immunities of Citizens; Extradition

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled,

¹This paragraph has been modified by Article XI of the Amendments, adopted in 1793.

be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section III. Admission of New States; Congress to rule Territories

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislature of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section IV. States to be protected by the Nation

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. HOW THE CONSTITUTION IS TO BE AMENDED

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.¹

ARTICLE VI. THE PUBLIC DEBT, THE SUPREMACY OF THE CONSTITUTION, THE OATH OF OFFICE

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby,

¹It is therefore impossible to reduce the number of Senators from a State with a small diminishing population.

anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII. RATIFICATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

The ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GO: WASHINGTON,

Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia.

Attest WILLIAM JACKSON *Secretary*

New Hampshire.

JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

Massachusetts.

NATHANIEL GORHAM,
RUFUS KING.

Connecticut.

WM: SAML. JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN.

New York.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

New Jersey.

WIL: LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WM. PATERSON,
JONA. DAYTON.

Pennsylvania.

B. FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBT. MORRIS,
GEO. CLYMER,
THOS. FITZ SIMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUV MORRIS.

Delaware.

GEO: READ,
GUNNING BEDFORD, jun
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACO: BROOM.

Maryland.

JAMES MCHENRY,
DAN OF ST. THOS. JENIFER,
DANL CARROLL.

Virginia.

JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON, Jr.

North Carolina.

WM: BLOUNT,
RICHD. DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HU WILLIAMSON.

South Carolina.

J. RUTLEDGE,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER.

Georgia.

WILLIAM FEW,
ABR. BALDWIN.

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

Attest:

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

(The first ten are commonly called the "Bill of Rights")

[The first ten Amendments were proposed at the First Session of the First Congress of the United States. They were declared in force December 15, 1791. These Amendments were accompanied by the following explanatory preamble and resolution:—

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, begun and held at the city of New York, on Wednesday, the 4th of March, 1789. The conventions of a number of the States having, at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added; and as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government will best insure the beneficent ends of its institution:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two thirds of both houses concurring, That the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three fourths of said legislatures, to be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of said Constitution, viz:]

ARTICLE I

Freedom of Religion, Speech, and the Press; Right of Assembly

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

Right to keep and bear Arms

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

Quartering of Troops, only by Consent

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

Limiting the Right of Search

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

Guaranty of Trial by Jury; Private Property to be respected

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

Rights of Accused Persons

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

Rules of the Common Law

In suits at Common Law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive Bail, Fines, and Punishments prohibited

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

Other Rights of the People

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

Powers reserved to States and People

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI¹*Limiting the Powers of Federal Courts*

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII²*How the President and Vice-President shall be elected*

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the persons voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the persons voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII³*The Abolition of Slavery*

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ Declared in force January 8, 1798.

² Declared in force September 25, 1804.

³ Declared in force December 18, 1865.

ARTICLE XIV¹*Section I. Definition of Citizenship*

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section II. How Representatives shall be apportioned

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section III. Disability resulting from Insurrection

No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section IV. Public Debt of the United States valid; Confederate Debt void

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section V. Congress to enforce the Article

The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

¹Changes resulting from the Civil War. Declared in force July 28, 1868.

ARTICLE XV¹

1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI²

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII³

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII⁴*The Prohibition of Intoxicating Liquors*

1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the transportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

2. The Congress and several States have the concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIX

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ Declared in force March 30, 1870.

² Declared in force February 25, 1913.

³ Declared in force April 8, 1913.

⁴ Became effective January 16, 1920.

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WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN
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